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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1915

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LIBERALISM, CONSERVATISM PERSIST IN FAMILY RELATIONS

Tirana SHQIPTARJA E RE in Albanian Jun 81 pp 8-9

[Article by Ksanthipi Begeja: "The Norms of Proletarian Morality Are the Basis for Our Socialist Family"]

[Excerpts] Despite the successes which have been achieved in the process of the socialist transormation of the family, one cannot say that every family in Albania has those traits which characterize the socialist family. But this is natural. The problem of the creation and strengthening of the new socialist family is not a problem which is resolved in a short time. The obstacles to the further development of socialist realtions in the family continue to be the following: Conservatism which continues to find expression in outmoded marriage customs, in the failure to respect the principle of complete equality in the family, in cases where the woman does most of the housework, in the obstacles to the woman's participation in the social life of the country, in the camouflaging of the forms of buying and selling brides, which appears in some villages where there is bargaining about the dowry conditions which the family of the bride sets forth to the family of the groom, etc. and also, liberalism, which finds expression in the contracting of marriages in a frivolous manner, carried away by a transitory passion, in a frivolous attitude in society or in the violation of conjugal fidelity which conflict with our proletarian morality and which undermines the family, and in love of luxury which has been noted in some cases. Naturally, these tendencies are not extensive but whenever they occur they shake the foundations of the family.

Therefore, the organizations of the Albanian Women's Union must organize a better and more timely campaign to counter these harmful practices, wherever they appear, in the city or in the village. These backward customs, regardless of their form, represent the subjugation of women. Therefore, a united front must be created to stir up healthy social opinion to intensify the struggle against every foreign custom and manifestation which treats women like a commodity on the market or a luxury and which prevents their progress.

CSO: 2100/104

HISTORICAL EVENTS IN BALKANS AFTER LIBERATION EXAMINED

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 15, 22 Jul 81

[Article by Prof Dr Simeon Damyanov]

[15 Jul 81 p 13]

[Text] In 1876 Russia had a powerful ally. It was European public opinion which was deeply touched after the excesses committed in Bulgaria. Tolstoy, Dostoyevskiy, Turgenev and Aksakov in Russia, Gladstone and Piers in England, Garibaldi in Italy and several hundred other diplomats, statesmen, writers and journalists the world over, whose conscience had been aroused, were exerting a strong influence on the behavior of Western governments. The voice of Victor Hugo, one of the most noted philosophers and humanists of the age, rose high above all others. The great writer made a warm plea in favor of Bulgaria and accused the European chanceries of remaining indifferent at a time when immediate action was necessary if a nation was to be saved physical annihilation.

The Western European democratic society supported the Russian action of Bulgaria's liberation. The forces which opposed this action were neutralized and a European war was avoided, at least at the beginning of the Russian-Turkish conflict. This enabled Russia to carry out its liberation mission. The culmination point arrived when the Russian army, continuing its victorious march, reached the walls of Constantinople. On 3 March 1878 Turkey was forced to conclude the San Stephano peace treaty.

The treaty called for the restoration of the Bulgarian state in its virtually natural borders. It crowned with success the age-old struggle of the Bulgarian people and the selfless exploits of the Russian soldiers. The bright horizons of a free development, allied with Russia, its liberator, opened to Bulgaria.

It was precisely then, however, that the situation changed suddenly. The European powers were hostile to the creation of a big Bulgaria which, in their view, was nothing other than the excessive expansion of Russian influence on the Balkans. Isolated and financially exhausted by its military campaign, Russia had to avoid at all cost the restoration of the 1853 Crimean Coalition as well as a new war, this time against all of Europe. It yielded to the demand of the powers to convene an international congress to revise the San Stephano treaty.

The Berlin congress (June-July 1878) tore Bulgaria apart. It proclaimed it a vassal principality subordinated to the will of the sultan. Thus the nature of relations

between the new state and the European powers was established for several decades in advance. The young Bulgarian state was faced with the solution of major and vitally important problems: the problem of Eastern Rumelia, which was separated from the Bulgarian Principality and proclaimed an autonomous province under the direct jurisdiction of the sultan; the question of Macedonia and the Odrin Vilayet, whose population was predominantly Bulgarian but over which the sultan's power was fully restored; the problem of the capitulation system, retained from the period of Turkish rule, and so on.

Article 8 of the Berlin Treaty stipulated that "all trade and navigation treaties, as well as all conventions and agreements concluded among the great powers and the High Porte, effective at present, remain applicable to the Bulgarian Principality, and no change may be made in them, which would affect that power, without its agreement." Concerned with the protection of their interests, the Western powers insisted that yet another text be included in the Berlin Treaty, especially drafted as follows: The immunities and privileges of foreign citizens, as well as the rights of consular jurisdiction and protection, as stipulated through capitulations and customs, will remain fully effective unless amended with the agreement of the interested parties."

It was entirely natural that authoritative historical publications assessed the Berlin congress in an extremely negative fashion. The congress' decisions are justifiably considered the result of the selfish policy of the Western powers which, for the sake of their own interests, dealt irreparable damages to the Bulgarian national cause and to the unification aspirations of the other Balkan nations. "Rarely does one come across such strange and unfair decrees," stressed the noted French historian A. Malet in the familiar multiple-volume work by E. Lavis and A. Rambeau, "Universal History from the Fourth Century to the Present." "Two powers which had had no participation in the war, one of which, England, had made the war inevitable with its support of the Turks, benefited the most. England occupied Cyprus and thus ensured for itself a new base in the Mediterranean; Austria-Hungary gained Bosnia and Herzegovina." It was thus that the balance in the Balkans was disturbed.

"Disregarding the will of a nation," A. Malet goes on to say, "Bulgaria was divided into three parts.... At San Stephano Russia had been concerned with ensuring the equality of all Christians; in Berlin neither justice nor the will of the nations nor the requirements of common sense and common interests were taken into consideration. The final act (i.e., the Berlin Treaty) is a monument to egotism, a matter of jealousy, personal hatred, a dishonest and base act, for instead of securing the peace it prepared many grounds for future conflicts and wars."

The reason for which I am drawing the attention of the readers to such extensive but noteworthy excerpts from the work of the noted French historian is because I am firmly convinced that a contemporary historian could hardly add anything new to such a precise and exhaustive description of the political principles which guided the Western European powers in the course of the historical June-July 1878 Berlin meetings, which proved to be so fatal to Bulgaria.

Some of the problems stemming from the unfair decisions adopted at the Berlin congress were systematically resolved thanks to the adamant struggle which the Bulgarian people waged for rejecting its degrading dependence on the High Porte and for gaining national unity. The unification of Eastern Rumelia and the Bulgarian principality was achieved in 1885. In 1908 Bulgaria proclaimed its independence by rejecting its

status as a vassal of the sultan and became a sovereign kingdom. Meanwhile, the capitulation system was abrogated. Henceforth relations between the Bulgarian state and the other powers were to be settled on the basis of bilateral consular conventions. Bulgaria signed equal and mutually profitable trade agreements with the other countries and set up specific customs tariffs. As a result of the wars waged starting with the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the Balkan status quo of 1878 changed entirely. Almost nothing was left of the stipulations of the Berlin congress 35 years later.

In the view of the Bulgarian statesman of the period, a desire on the part of the great powers to support Bulgaria's national aspirations would have secured them great advantages and the possibility of consolidating their influence in the country. It was this factor that contributed to the gradual clarification of Bulgaria's foreign policy orientation. On the eve of the wars which were to shake up not only the European Southeast but the entire continent, in the second decade of our century, Bulgaria was ready to join that group of forces which was willing to meet the country's national requirements.

Until that time the country was the arena of all kinds of sharp competitions. Each of the great European powers tried to win Bulgaria over to its side. Circumstances appeared quite favorable. In order to meet its requirements, which were based on the accelerated building of railroads and the modernizing of its armed forces, each subsequent Bulgarian government was forced to seek foreign financial aid. Gradually, French bankers became Bulgaria's creditors.

Another important question arises when we consider the role of foreign investments in Bulgaria: to what extent were the great powers able to tie up the country from the political viewpoint to their capital? This problem particularly affected France, which was holding the strongest financial positions in Bulgaria and which, furthermore, on the eve of the 1914 war, claimed the position of leadership in the Antante. It is unquestionably true that the main objective of French economic penetration into Bulgaria was to involve the country entirely from the political viewpoint. Without denying the unquestionable fact that French capital was largely successful in assuming control of Bulgaria (precisely through state loans), nevertheless, the "moneylender of Europe," as France was universally known at that time, was unable to subordinate the country entirely, either economically or politically.

What was the reason for this? Unquestionably, French investments in Serbia and Greece, put together, exceeded investments in Bulgaria by a factor of about five. This largely explains the firm line followed by French diplomacy in its defense of Serbian and Greek territorial aspirations during the Balkan wars and in World War I. Nothing is easier in winning over two or even three Balkan countries than trying to favor them at the expense of a country sacrificed in advance.

At that time England and France were not sympathetic to Bulgaria. Particularly after the Second Balkan War they considered the policy of the Radoslavov government with mistrust, openly accusing it of pro-Austrian sympathies. The leaders of the two powers did not realize that, considering the difficult situation in which Bulgaria found itself after the first national catastrophe of 1913, anyone who was ready to help it could rely on substantial broadening and consolidation of his political influence in the heart of the Balkan peninsula. That was not the way Paris and London

looked at the situation. It was believed there that a "firm tone" must be maintained in the case of Bulgaria. Its request for a new loan was declined by the French government which asked as a condition for granting it that the country immediately join the Antante and accept denigrating financial clauses.

It was at that point that the Austro-German diplomacy passed to the offensive. A German financial group, headed by the Diskonto Gesellschaft Bank, expressed its readiness to grant the Bulgarian government the requested loan. Common sense forced the members of the Antante to counter the German proposals with others more advantageous to Bulgaria. However, it was precisely the opposite that happened. As instructed by his government, the French minister of foreign affairs instructed Alfred de Panafieu, the French minister plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, to warn the head of the Bulgarian government that the Quai D'Orsay "would allow in no case French money to be used today in Bulgaria." This behavior merely speeded up the talks between the Bulgarian government and the Diskonto Gesellschaft. Toward the middle of June 1914, when the financial veto to which Bulgaria was subjected was finally lifted, the Bulgarian government considered its talks with Diskonto as concluded. The Sarajevo assassination was already a fact and a world war was about to break out. A severe blow was struck at the interests of the Antante in Bulgaria in favor of the German forces.

The main reason for the failure of the Antante's policy in Bulgaria on the eve and beginning of World War II lies in the lack of sufficient far-sightedness on the part of government circles in Paris, London and Petersburg. Proceeding from the preconceived idea that no financial aid should be granted the Radoslavov government because of its sympathy for Austria-Hungary and Germany, the leading Antante circles underestimated the fact that granting a new loan could have raised the Bulgarian state indebtedness to France alone to one billion francs. This would have made it impossible for even the most pro-German government to involve Bulgaria in a war on the side of Germany. With the refusal to give Bulgaria financial aid, the Antante powers practically facilitated pro-German propaganda in Sofia and the tying of Bulgaria to the bloc of the Central Powers--initially financially and, subsequently, politically and militarily. Having found the road to Paris blocked, the Bulgarian government, which was experiencing a severe lack of funds, took the only way which proved tempting--the way to Berlin and Vienna.

Nevertheless, the main problem which defined the foreign policy of the Bulgarian government was the national problem. Politically, the cabinet in Sofia was not necessarily oriented toward European powers which had the strongest financial positions but toward powers which had expressed their willingness to support its national aspirations. However, this meant that the "chain of gold" (in the words of Kaiser Wilhelm II), through which the bankers in Paris intended to tie Bulgaria to the Antante, proved to be insufficiently strong for the purpose.

[22 Jul 81 p 13]

[Text] Once again, when it came to the Bulgarian question, the members of the Antante displayed groundless restraint and reservations. During the 1914-1915 talks, while World War I was already being fought and the Bulgarian government had proclaimed its neutrality, mistrust of Ferdinand and Radoslavov prevented the Allies from adopting more flexible and just criteria which could have annulled the steps of

German diplomacy. All disputes and differences were focused then on the so-called "undisputed zone" in Macedonia as defined in the March 1912 Serbia-Bulgaria treaty. The unconditional granting of this area to Bulgaria would have sufficed for winning the country over to the Antante.

At that time Winston Churchill, who was a member of the British cabinet, called for granting immediately to Bulgaria the "undisputed zone." In the spring of 1915, when the Allies had already undertaken the Dardanelles operation, Churchill addressed the now-familiar memorandum to the British government in which he emphasized that "we must win over Bulgaria now. Bulgaria is strong and its army is ready..., its territorial aspirations are just and coincide with the principle of nationalities which must guide us....Bulgaria's demands, as formulated now, contain nothing which is not sensible and honorable."

No such realistic policy prevailed in the approach which the Antante took toward Bulgaria. This facilitated the supporters of Germany in pushing once again the country to a catastrophe instead of preserving strict neutrality and saving Bulgaria tremendous pain and casualties.

The tragic events of the second decade of our century clearly proved that Bulgaria could avoid the great misfortunes which afflicted it, one after the other, only by maintaining good relations with Russia, its liberator, and Russia's allies, and only by firmly rejecting any kind of adventuristic policy. At the same time, let us emphasize, for the sake of the truth, that those who scorned Bulgaria's interests and forced us to seek other means to achieve its goals were also to be blamed for the fatal development of events.

After World War I the situation in the European Southeast became exceptionally complex. Three Balkan countries--Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania--were in the camp of the victors. Bulgaria and Turkey were defeated and had to bear the heavy obligations imposed with the peace treaties. The Kemal Ataturk revolution in Turkey, nevertheless, enabled it to reject the annihilating clauses of the Sevres treaty so that, in the final account, Bulgaria proved to be the only Balkan country which was subjected to the full strictness of the decisions of the Versailles conference.

The circumstances in Europe became incredibly complex only 15 years after the end of World War I. The establishment of the Hitlerite dictatorship in Germany was a threat not only to the Western countries but to Eastern Europe as well and above all to the first socialist country, the Soviet Union. In the exceptionally delicate circumstances which developed after 1933, the land of the soviets, the most consistent peace-loving power, pursued a firm policy of collective security. Bulgaria's foreign policy was pursuing a strictly-defined objective: no involvement, nonalignment with international blocs and groups, and maintaining good neighborly relations with the other Balkan countries. The Bulgarian governments of that time tried to achieve the resolution of some problems which had remained pending as a result of the peace treaties. In particular, they were hoping to achieve the peaceful revision of the Treaty of Neuilly with the help of the stipulations of Article 19 of the League of National Pact.

The hopes were futile, for the victors opposed any change in the postwar status quo. The political isolation of Bulgaria continued. It ended in 1934 with the conclusion

of the Balkan Pact, which was hostile to Bulgaria. This was a structural part of the French system of European alliances supported by the Quai D'Orsay. On top of everything else, the foreign policy of the Western powers toward Bulgaria was backed by economic and financial measures. The only outlet for Bulgarian agricultural exports was Germany, and such economic ties subsequently led to a political rapprochement with the Reich.

In accordance with their political plans concerning the Balkan peninsula, in the course of time the great powers changed their attitude toward Bulgaria. Not counting Germany which, immediately after 1933, unilaterally rejected the Versailles Treaty, took the path of revenge and openly incited Bulgaria and Hungary to follow its example, a certain change was noted in the British behavior, which was of key significance in determining the positions of the other Balkan countries. Concerned with weakening French hegemony on the continent, as early as the 1920s, Britain did not conceal the fact that it was ready to support some Bulgarian demands for a partial revision of the peace treaty, more specifically that of having an outlet on the Aegean Sea and on the question of Bulgarian minorities in Yugoslavia.

In the final account, although under different circumstances, this political line was concretized with the conclusion of the 31 July 1938 Salonika Convention, according to which the signatories to the Balkan Pact agreed on the abrogation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Neuilly affecting Bulgaria. Henceforth Bulgaria was free to increase the size of its armed forces and to rearm.

"The importance which the British press ascribes to the conclusion of the Salonika Convention," stressed on this occasion the London correspondent of the Bulgarian newspaper ZORA, "is considered by political circles in London a success of British diplomacy." In order not to feel isolated France, followed by the United States, supported the Salonika Convention. This can be assessed as a serious attempt to satisfy Bulgaria, although partially, and thus to win it over to the cause of the Western powers at a time when Hitlerite pressure on the Balkans was being exerted with unusual strength, following the Anschluss and on the very eve of the Munich crisis and of World War II.

The second success of the Bulgarian government, prior to the tragic decision to join the Tripartite Pact, was the return of Southern Dobrudzha. The country's alliance with Hitlerite Germany in World War II was the biggest crime committed by the bourgeoisie and the monarchy in Bulgaria's recent history. As all serious students of that period point out, the pretext was the national unification of the Bulgarian people (which turned out to be entirely fictitious, for no one recognized it). The real reasons for the action were of a class nature. The reactionary bourgeoisie and the monarchy were concerned, above all, with protecting their rule. Bearing in mind that their own forces were insufficient to surmount the rising mass opposition of the people to the bloody regime, they decided to seek the help of a stronger ally, German fascism. The great predator, however, never gives anything for free. Its class support was earned at a high cost, at the cost of the national independence and dislocation of Bulgaria. Simply stated, this can be described as national treason.

The 9 September 1944 revolution not only put an end to monarchical-fascist domination and opened the way to the building of socialism in our country. It also put an end

to the tireless roaming of the bourgeoisie and the palace in search of strong and influential allies in Europe. The fact that Bulgaria was saved from a new and even more terrible national catastrophe with the decisive help of the Soviet Union in itself justifies the general direction which its new foreign political orientation took. A contributing fact in this case was the coincidence of interests and objectives which were shared by the great socialist country and Bulgaria, which had taken a new way. Even during the antifascist resistance every Bulgarian patriot was fighting not only for the liberation of his homeland from class and national oppression but for the sake of the international task of defeating the most terrible enemy of mankind, German fascism, whose objective was to destroy the first socialist state in the world. Whereas after the war the policy of the Western capitalist countries toward Bulgaria had as its sole objective the restoration of the rule of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie, the Soviet Union extended a fraternal hand and selflessly helped in the restoration of the country plundered by the Hitlerites and in the strengthening of the people's regime.

The historical turn in Bulgaria's political orientation after 1944 is final and irreversible. It has its deep roots in the distant past, in the tribal relations among Slavic peoples and in the age-old reciprocal cultural influence and mutual aid between the two nations. This turn was cemented by the blood which was jointly shed for the liberation of Bulgaria from the Turkish yoke and for the victory of fascism in World War II. It was definitively asserted with the conclusion of the 1948 friendship and mutual aid treaty.

Bulgarian-Soviet friendship is one of the unique phenomena of our time. It is a powerful factor in the socialist development and success of the new Bulgaria. In relying on the powerful support of the great Soviet state, Bulgaria gained strong positions in the contemporary world. It is a question, first of all, of the exceptional aid which was given to us by the Soviet Union in the development of a modern industry and mechanized agriculture, which make us a reliable economic partner of the economically most developed country in the world. It is also a question of the firm support which the Soviet Union is giving to any one of our political initiatives in the international arena. In many cases its prestigious word has been decisive when problems of vital importance to Bulgaria had to be settled. Bulgaria has never before had such a selfless and strong ally. That is why reciprocity is the only means with which to repay such an ally.

It was precisely this that led L. I. Brezhnev to declare that relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are a classical example of proletarian internationalism in action. It was this that led Comrade Todor Zhivkov to state that although Bulgaria is a small country, it has a "strong and reliable" support and that Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, tested and tempered in heavy battles, will prevail through the centuries. Our national interests demand of us always and under all circumstances to march in step with the great and invincible Soviet state and with the other members of the socialist comity.

The historical problem of Bulgaria's allies and position in the modern world has been resolved forever and irreversibly.

What conclusion could be drawn from all of this? It is entirely clear that in modern and most modern times, when the historical process is developing most rapidly

and dynamically, Bulgaria does not live separately from the rest of the world. Even during the most tragic centuries of its existence, during the epoch of Turkish domination, when there was no Bulgarian state, the Bulgarians were able to make themselves known to the world, to acquaint the world with their aspirations and to instill love and respect for themselves. Noted Bulgarians, whose characters and merits we may have somewhat neglected, maintained economic, political, religious and cultural ties with many Eastern and Western European countries.

Ever since the European world crossed the threshold of the Renaissance, the Bulgarian people have experienced endless degradations and covered a complex and contradictory way of development. When the Bulgarian state was resurrected and appeared once again on the map of the world the contradictions between the so-called great powers, which were settling the destinies of the world, had become so intense that the Bulgarian national problems became the currency of their "big policy." This brought Bulgaria many new trials and disappointments both as a result of the unbalanced policies of its rulers and of the gross neglect of its national interests on the part of the imperialist countries.

It was only after the 1944 socialist revolution, relying on the support of the USSR, that Bulgaria assumed its proper place in the world as an equal and respected country. Today its road is clearer than ever before. It is a stable factor of good-neighborly relations in the Balkans and is marching in the leading ranks of forces fighting for peace on earth and for social progress.

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ALEKSANDUR LILOV INTERPRETS ROLE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 7, 1981 pp 5-26

[Article by Aleksandur Lilov, Politburo member and BCP Central Committee secretary: "Scientific Socialism: Theoretical and Ideological Foundation of the Bulgarian Communist Party"]

[Text] Ninety years have passed, or almost a century, from the founding of the revolutionary Marxist party in Bulgaria.

The celebration of this important and great Bulgarian anniversary is a major sociopolitical event. The long distance which was covered along the crest of history and of its greatest and most severe class battles, ranging from Buzludzha Peak Balkan Mountains, in the victorious 9 September 1944 socialist revolution, to the building of a mature socialist society in our country today, allows the party to present itself to the Bulgarian working class and Bulgarian people, to the world's proletariat and the international communist movement, on its 90th birthday, as a strong and mature Marxist-Leninist party which is successfully fulfilling its historical mission.

The anniversary presents us with great opportunities for the study and assessment of the distance already covered, the historical victories and gain achieved, the errors allowed, the still-unresolved problems and the lessons for the future.

Looking at the past nine decades globally, we are bound to see that we, Bulgarian communists, have all the reasons to be proud, and are proud, of what the Bulgarian Communist Party is and what it has accomplished over these 90 years. In the first decades, when it planted the seed of socialism in Bulgaria, under the leadership of Dimitur Blagoev-Dyadoto and later, when headed by Giorgi Dimitrov it wrote the glorious and hard pages of the struggle against capitalism and fascism, as well as today, when under the leadership of the Central Committee, headed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, it is implementing its Leninist April line and is building a developed socialist society, our party was and remains flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of its class and people and, at the same time, the tested battle vanguard and political leader of the working class and the people in the struggle for freedom, democracy and socialism.

"Never before in the course of its 1,300 year history,"Comrade Todor Zhivkov stated at the recently-ended 12th BCP Congress, "has the Bulgarian people had such a brilliant thinker and inspired poet, scientist, organizer and leader as our Bulgarian Communist Party."[1]

Yes, the BCP has nothing to fear today when it is drawing the balance of its 90 years of struggle in front of the people and the world.

However, the anniversary also offers great opportunities for serious theoretical consideration of the distance covered and the current problems facing a Marxist-Leninist type party today.

Ninety years is a long historical period in terms of the existence and functioning of a political party. It is quite sufficient for the development and manifestation of the basic essential characteristics of such a party: ideological, political, organizational, social, moral-ethical and internationalist. It is entirely sufficient for practically testing and weighing on the scale of social practice the objectives, capabilities and actual historical contribution of such a party. It is entirely sufficient for answering the question of what kind of party this is.

The question of what kind of party this is is a major and topical problem not only from the viewpoint of the 90th anniversary of the founding of the BCP but from a more global viewpoint: what party may be considered a Marxist-Leninst party; does such a party develop and change or is it permanent and fixed; if it does develop and change, what directions and ways does it take and what are the problems accompanying the development of the Marxist-Leninist type party at the current stage, as they appear in contemporary social practice, what are the basic conclusions and lessons which must be drawn from the development of contemporary Marxist-Leninist parties, what are the leading and determining features of this development and so on.

The question of what is and what should a Marxist-Leninist party be today and what problems does a Marxist-Leninist party face today and what kind of party does the contemporary global revolutionary process need is, unquestionably, one of the main problems of contemporary social development and of the contemporary stage in the historical transition of mankind from capitalism to socialism.

In this case, the problem does not acquire an abstract interpretation. We must analyze and sum up the actual historical practice of today without avoiding the tremendous data of positive facts or negative phenomena and facts, similar to those which, for example, triggered the crisis in the Polish People's Republic and the PZPR or else which we note in the development of China and the Chinese Communist Party, of individual parties in some developed capitalist countries, and so on. We must not forget that the development of a Marxist-Leninist party as such neither takes place nor could take place other than by following the path of any development, i.e., by surmounting the contradictions which arise in the course of its historical march and the acquisition of what is most progressive and objectively necessary for the advancement of the party as the political vanguard and leader of the working class and the people's masses in the struggle for the socialist reorganization of society.

Consequently, in order to provide an accurate answer to the question of what kind of a party is a party of a Marxist-Leninist type today, at the end of the 20th and on the eve of the 21st centuries, means to enter one of the general questions of our revolutionary epoch.

This means that history is not satisfied with the ceremonious music played at party anniversaries but faces us with ever-new questions and harmonies of our time and seeks in history, which includes the interpretation of party anniversaries, answers to

questions which it itself creates today or will create tomorrow in the course of the revolutionary socialist reorganization of society.

The study of the 90 years of experience of the BCP, looked at through the lens of the general question of what does a party of a new Leninist type represent today, in 1981, is an exceptionally interesting, tempting and responsible assignment. Naturally, it would require more than the efforts of its single author or the limitations of a single article. It would be impossible within an article to present even the formulation of the problems which, put together, form the contemporary content of the general problem, not to mention the undertaking of their more thorough study.

It is possible, however, as a step leading to this major task, to synthesize and bring up the basic characteristics: the ideological, political, organizational, social, moral-ethical and internationalist features of our party as they develop in the course of the past 90 years, and as they are today in our own social practice and within the context of the reality of the contemporary global revolutionary process and international communist and workers movements.

This article deals with the theoretical and ideological characterization and theoretical and ideological identity of the BCP as a party of a contemporary Marxist-Leninist type.

Historically considered, one of the most characteristic features of the BCP is its strong reliance on the ideas and principles of scientific socialism, its development of a revolutionary Marxist party, on the basis of revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, the ideological support and profound theoretical substantiation of its political and revolutionary activity and the conversion and constant strengthening of Marxism-Leninism as a mass active ideological awareness of the party.

Naturally, our party has always taken into consideration the requirements of reality, the development of social reality itself. It has always tried to rely on its own and international socialist and political experience of the working class and the people's masses. The BCP has always tried not to lose its feel for the pulsebeat of the time. It has never erected barriers separating it from reality, from the world. It has never been deaf and blind to the real needs of the working people and their fate, aspirations and dreams. At the same time, however, it has always tried not to become disoriented in the sea of empirical facts and developments. It has never abandoned its class-party criteria, ideological guidelines and revolutionary objectives. Neither the achievements in the class struggle nor the results of the building of socialism today in our country would have been so all-embracing and profound, had the social actions of the masses not been guided by a combat Marxist-Leninist party, armed with profound and practically-tried scientific truths concerning the development of society, and unless at each stage of its development and of the development of society it had been unable promptly to find the true scientifically-substantiated answers to the most acute and topical problems of the class struggle and the building of socialism.

Looking at the 90-year-old road of the founding of the Bulgarian Communist Party, we see that as a political party, from its very beginning and to this day, it has stood on the principled scientific positions of scientific socialism and has always

aspired, precisely on the basis of such positions, to sum up most profoundly and penetratingly the social and political experience of the working class and the people's masses. Our party's entire history unequivocally proves that it is the bearer, on the one hand, of the trend of steadily-rising sociopolitical and revolutionary practices to the level of the requirements and criteria of Marxist-Leninist theory; on the other, to embody the basic stipulations of our theory in life and thus to guide the revolutionary struggle accurately and on a long-term basis. It is thus that unity between Marxist-Leninist theory and revolutionary practice historically determines the overall aspect and behavior of our party, starting with its founding to the present. The highest point of this application of social science in practice is the main result of the revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarian working class--the building of a developed socialist society in our country.

The fact that our revolutionary workers movement experienced the lasting fruitful influence of the Marxist-Leninist scientific knowledge of social life and that it is precisely on this basis that the success was developed in the class struggle, naturally, is not accidental. It is not the random result of historical development or the exclusive personal merit of the creators and leaders of our party, although their contribution in this respect is unquestionable. It cannot be denied that ever since the "Communist Party Manifesto" was published the doctrine of Marx and Engels has covered a remarkable distance and that it has been quite closely linked to the upsurge and development of the revolutionary workers' movement and that it became widespread throughout the world as the most progressive ideology which defends the interests of the broad toiling masses. Understandably, the "ghost" which, according to Marx and Engels, was roaming around Europe as of the mid-19th century, could not fail, in the final account, to reach even the then most neglected areas and countries on the old continent. However, we are bound to err if we consider that in this case it is a question exclusively of purely external and spiritual influences, of a kind of "offshoot" of Marxist ideas and concepts. In this case, it is rather a question of an objective need of our sociohistorical development, which was perceived on time, profoundly and accurately by our first Marxists, and of the systematically and deliberately directed organizational, ideological and political actions, based on this requirement, which very quickly raised the movement of the Bulgarian working class to the level of a most active subjective factor in the historical process.

In this case one feature is noteworthy: the point is that by virtue of our specific internal conditions both the time and the possibility were lacking of enabling the idea of Marx and Engels on the revolutionary role of the proletariat to be asserted slowly and to cover the long distance leading to its application and development. However, it was adapted immediately to the actual needs and eventually turned into the realized need for the creation of a revolutionary party of the Bulgarian proletariat, a party which could defend its class interests and head its struggles. As we know, some European proletarian parties were created under far more favorable circumstances, as parties of a large, already-established working class, which had proved itself in the social struggle, had acquired considerable social experience and had its victories and defeats, class aspect and established joint class interests. Our historical lot was different. The Bulgarian workers class, which began to take shape toward the end of the 19th century, under the conditions of an initial accumulation of capital with an underdeveloped mainly artisan production system, could draw on the shining example of the fighters for national liberation from foreign yoke and their prophetic dream, which the Bulgarian bourgeoisie had forgotten,

of a "single communist order"(Kar. Botev) and a "pure and sacred republic" (V. Levski). At the same time, however, on the other hand, the example of the working class in the more developed capitalist countries in waging an organized struggle for social rights and social liberation was of tremendous importance to it. It was on this basis that history brought about in a very short time period the virtually simultaneous development in our country of a working class itself and of its revolutionary Marxist party. It was no accident that immediately after the Bulgarian Social Democratic Workers Party was founded, at the congress on Buzludzha Peak, in 1891, that Dimitur Blagoev, its founder and creator, published his remarkable work "What is Socialism and Does It Have Grounds in Our Country" in which he described the class differentiation developing in our country and indicated the newly-created need for the development of the class awareness of the workers, the substantiation of their special role as a social class and the dissemination of socialism as the only reliable and really possible future of our social and political development.

Consequently, how could we explain such a less frequent case in the history of the workers and communists movements of a very short timespan separating the forming of the working class itself and of its party? Why is it, by virtue of what circumstances and reasons, that in our country in no more than six to seven years the socialist movement was able to come out of its spontaneous development stage, leave revolutionary phraseology, utopian socialism, nihilism, and Proudhon-Bakunin anarchism behind? How is it that from the moment of its creation our party turned out to be a principle-minded proletarian party, regardless of the power of the bourgeoisie, intolerant of reformist trends, behaving as the complete opposite of newly-developed bourgeois parties which were fiercely involved in the struggle for power, a party invariably focused on a single final objective: the revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist society?

A more analytical consideration of this circumstance, a more profound study of the rapid development of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Systematic Marxist Party, and a desire to determine more accurately the meaning of its further legitimate historical development on the path of Leninism, which reached its culminating point in the victorious 9 September Revolution and the development of the building of socialism in our country require that we pay particular attention to the specific conditions under which the communist party of the Bulgarian working class was created, developed and won victories.

To begin with, an essential feature of the problem is, as we already noted, that our socialist movement was forced to take its first steps in a rather backward country which had only recently gained its national liberation and had taken the path of capitalist development, a country whose working class was still weak and small. It was precisely these insufficiently developed objective socioeconomic conditions and circumstances that made the position of the newly-formed working class extremely difficult, subjecting it to merciless exploitation and sentencing it to a rightless and silent existence. Small, unorganized, with no concept of class and cruelly exploited, naturally, all by itself the working class could not become aware of its position and become a "class for its own sake" and look for its rights and for an organized solution to this situation. Furthermore, it was actually threatened with falling under the influence of the numerous bourgeois and petit bourgeois parties and, particularly, of their corrupt ideology, which was

fed by the capitalist, essentially petty ownership economic base of society, on whose grounds it grew rapidly. Thus, on the one hand, backward objective socioeconomic conditions aggravated the class differentiation to its extreme and, at the same time, were not contributing to the development of the class awareness of the proletariat. At the same time, however, the adverse objective socioeconomic conditions and circumstances indicated quite clearly the need for a specific proletarian organization which would facilitate the shaping of the proletariat and its development as a new independent social class. In his 1871 letter to F. Bothe, K. Marx wrote: "Wherever the working class has as yet insufficiently developed its organization so that it may mount a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e., the political power of the ruling classes, in all cases it must be trained to accomplish this through constant agitation against this power and by assuming a hostile position toward the policy of the ruling classes. Otherwise the working class will remain a toy in their hands...."[2]

In order not to become a toy in the hands of the bourgeois parties and be able to wage the political struggle against the ruling classes, it was necessary for the Bulgarian proletariat to set up its independent political party promptly. Under the specific conditions which prevailed in Bulgaria at the turn of the century, it was precisely a longer absence of a proletarian revolutionary party that would have delayed the appearance of the self-awareness of the working class and its political growth and systematic revolutionary development. In order for the latter to become reality it was necessary, to begin with, to achieve a profound, accurate, correct and creative understanding of Marxist theory and the fast, timely and effective propaganda, dissemination and study of the ideas of scientific socialism and the instilling of these ideas in the newly-developing working class.

It is precisely at this point that the social need for and historical role of the subjective factor are strongly manifested, of the role which the individual plays in history. We see the great figure and invaluable personal contribution of Dimitur Blagoev-Dyadoto and his fellow workers. It was precisely they who planted the seeds of Marxism in Bulgaria and who combined scientific socialism with the labor movement in our country. It was precisely they who laid the foundations and formed the roots of one of the most strongly-expressed characteristics and traditions of our party: loyalty for and creative attitude toward scientific socialism as a mandatory prerequisite for the proper development and successful implementation of the party's historical mission.

As we can see, it was precisely the at-first objective socioeconomic conditions that emphasized the need for the party's ideological growth and which accelerated the political organization of the Bulgarian working class on the solid foundations of the authentic Marxist theory, on the basis of the founding ideas of scientific socialism. This was not fortuitous, for it is precisely Marxism, as an exclusively scientific-theoretical accomplishment, that enables any workers movement to develop a long-term confident progress, lasting results in the class struggle and liberation from all oppression and exploitation.

It was on this basis and under these specific circumstances that the establishment of the working class itself became possible and necessary, thus facilitating and accelerating the dissemination and study of the ideas of scientific socialism and, particularly--on the basis of such an ideological unification of the proletariat--the founding of its combat revolutionary Marxist party, able to defend its class interests and objectives.

At the same time, yet another proof exists that the political movement of the working class is not the automatic or schematic consequence of economic and social reality but the result of the class struggle itself, its inevitability, intensiveness, polarization and sharpness. Social progress does not come exclusively from the economic base. To a very large extent it depends also on the deployment and shaping of political forces and the development of social class relations and, particularly, on the class struggle itself. It depends on the self-awareness of the classes, the political awareness of the people and their social and political behavior. It is not without importance to stress in this connection the significant although subjective circumstance that our party was created by people with great revolutionary experience and revolutionary knowledge, people who were educated as Marxists and had developed their Marxist creative personalities, people who were closely related to the revolutionary movement of their time and were armed with the Marxist theoretical concept of the historical role of the proletariat in the age of tempestuous capitalist development. It was precisely on the basis of the principles of scientific socialism and under the guidance of the greatest Marxist in the Balkans by the turn of the century--Dimitur Blagoev--that the Bulgarian proletariat created its revolutionary Marxist party whose aim was to prepare the working class for its historical mission. It was not fortuitous that Blagoev himself acknowledged that, on the one hand, it was precisely Marx' "Das Kapital" that gave him the opportunity to understand "the origin and growth of the working class, the hidden springs of capitalist production, the significance of the working class within it, the status of the class, the grounds for its struggle, its organization and its historical task, the "expropriation of the expropriators,"[3] and, on the other hand, to stress that "the spreading of the ideas of scientific socialism strengthened the movement and rallied a larger number of socialists within an organized force."[4] This makes it clear that it becomes very difficult to understand the starting principles and ideological development of the founders, the organizers and the leaders of the party outside the influence of the subjective factor and of Marxist theory, and to understand even better the relatively early establishment and development of the party itself as the most conscientious and highly organized leading detachment of the Bulgarian working class. It is unquestionable that it was precisely the proper theoretical orientation of the party that assigned it a new considerable role in the country's political . fe. The main fact is that Blagoev's party, from its very founding and, subsequently, throughout the entire period of its legal and clandestine existence in bourgeois Bulgaria, was radically and diametrically distinct from all other parties and movements in the country by having rejected once and for all the principles of narrow practicalism and political adventurism, not having pursued transient and insignificant objectives and for having acted always without any political, theoretical and ideological carelessness. The party of the Bulgarian communists is a party of the profound and scientifically substantiated Marxist thinking, a party of revolutionary ideals and of great ideological and political objectives. It is a party with revolutionary political, ideological and social scope, whose final objective is the revolutionary reorganization of society.

It would be useful to draw a substantiated conclusion supported by history on the basis of all we have said so far: without clear ideological-theoretical foundations and a clear ideological awareness there could be no strong Marxist-Leninist party. The illuminating role of the theory of scientific socialism is a permanently necessary and irreplacable means for daily, consistent, principle-minded and

effective practical party-political activity. This is a particularly important lesson for our time, when the tremendous successes achieved in the revolutionary reorganization of social life and the tremendous pressure exerted by bourgeois ideology and by right-wing and left-wing opportunism face us with the present danger of a reduction in theoretical awareness, its confusion and reforming, and of a general underestimating of the role of theory itself in today's tremendous revolutionary process. It is no accident that in each individual case the danger of social democratic deformations within some contemporary Marxist-Leninist parties begins precisely with the underestimating of theoretical and ideological foundations of political activity. Actually, any party which would like to remain loyal to the working class and lead it on the way to the revolutionary reorganization of the capitalist society must keep its Marxist-Leninist theoretical foundations clean and strong. It must adopt a consistently principled attitude toward the founding principles of scientific socialism.

The study of history proves that Marxist-Leninist theory and ideology are not merely the foundation on which the communist party of the working class is developed but one of its main and most powerful weapons in the revolutionary struggle. "The Marxist-Leninist Party," emphasized Comrade Leonid Brezhnev at the 26th CPSU Congress, "cannot fulfill its role without paying the necessary attention to the interpretation of everything which takes place, the summation of the new phenomena in life and the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory."[5]

Now, when voices are heard calling for a reduction of the participation of scientific theory in shaping the policy and activities of communist parties, and when a right-wing revisionist and left-wing revisionist circumstantial political pragmatism is clearly being created and is being manifested ever more clearly, a pragmatism which is dangerous because of its attitude toward theory, it is of essential importance to analyze more profoundly our own historical experience regarding the important and totally irreplacable role of Marxist-Leninist theory in the creation, internal development and progress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, its fruitful participation in the class struggle and the social revolution and the successful and accelerated development of the building of socialism. More specifically, what did scientific socialism contribute to our party?

It seems to us that in this connection it would be proper to go back to one of Lenin's thoughts, namely that "a movement which develops in a young country can be successful only if it implements the experience of the other countries. Such implementation requires more than the simple familiarization with this experience or the simple duplication of the latest resolutions. This calls for the ability to adopt a critical attitude toward this experience and check it ourselves."[6]

In the light of this stipulation we can easily see that the experience of other countries came to our country not merely as a simple reference to some existing examples or the borrowing of individual theses, concepts or even entire resolutions. Particularly important, above all, is the circumstance that the Marxist development of Dimitur Blagoev, the founder of our party, began in the midst of the Russian workers movement. As we know, together with other Russian workers-revolutionaries, as early as 1883 he created the first Marxist group in Russia. That is why Blagoev naturally brought to Bulgaria the live experience of the Russian revolutionary movement and the Russian social democracy. At the same time, he laid

a firm and remarkable beginning for the subsequently historically developed and strengthened tradition of revolutionary fraternity between the BCP and the CPSU, and between our countries and peoples.

However, this too is not all. The essence of the matter is not covered exclusively by the external influences on the subjective factor, for in our country the experience from other countries "arrived" also as a reliance on the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels and the daily consideration and even testing of this theory on the basis of specifically Bulgarian conditions. To our first socialists it was precisely Marxism that represented the most concentrated form of experience, extracted directly from the international workers movement. It was a source of revolutionary inspiration, theoretical confidence and ideological strength and a most accurate political guideline.

It is a fact of essential significance that starting with the very first day of its founding, Blagoev's party began to resolve the problems of the class struggle from the positions of scientific socialism. On the one hand, this strongly limited the influence of random, secondary, spontaneous and accidental factors on the development of the workers movement; on the other, it enabled the party to maintain a live, permanent and effective contact with the objective and natural course of events and to use it in accordance with the interests of the working class. All this was expressed more durably in the historically established and distinct class-political appearance of our party. Let us consider this matter in greater detail.

To begin with, let us point out that firm reliance on revolutionary Marxist theory enabled our party promptly to identify in the then-new working class the future gravedigger of capitalism, i.e., it was precisely on the basis of this theoretical foundation that it was able to penetrate deeply into the essence of the existing historical situation in our country and, despite a considerable backwardness, to identify the revolutionary future in the development of society. Thus Marxist theory brought the party closer to the specific facts and circumstances; it showed it the deeper inner trends of our economic and political development; it indicated to the party the most accurate political line which it had to take under such specific national conditions and circumstances.

At the same time, on the other hand, it was precisely scientific socialism that revealed to the party most completely and consistently the fact that regardless of the entire characteristic of historical conditions and national development, it was later Bulgaria took the path of a more general capitalist development which was inevitably to lead to the pitting of the working class against the bourgeoisie, to sharp class battles and to a socialist revolution. That is why the workers movement in our country was able to develop on a long-term basis and most successfully precisely as a structural component of the international workers movement. It was thus that in its activities our party has always taken into consideration the specific historically existing conditions of work and struggle in our country without, however, ever having been focused on regional developments or becoming a nationally restricted party. It has always borne in mind that the liberation of the proletariat is an international task and that this is an irreversible global process in which each working class, party and country will make its unique contribution.

Still within the same range of problems and this viewpoint we must also stress that the creation of a revolutionary Marxist party of the Bulgarian proletariat was exceptionally important in terms of our national development and national progress. The timely unification and organization of the revolutionary energy of the Bulgarian working class enabled it to become a powerful motive force in the open, conscious and purposeful class struggle for a new social order and a new life. Whereas economically we found ourselves quite backward, by the turn of the century we were also in the front ranks of global political development. That is why it is no accident that our party led the first antifascist uprising in the world, in September of 1923, and that today it is not accidental in the least that Bulgaria is among the countries which are successfully developing a mature socialist society--the highest level reached in the area of contemporary social progress.

One of the major advantages of our party is the fact that in its entire history, engaged in an open and systematic struggle against reformism and right-wing and left-wing revisionism, it has not experienced periods of ideological division. It has never sought a different ideological and theoretical foundation for itself, for the development of the struggle and for the victory of the socialist revolution other than that of Marxism-Leninism. The party itself defeated and rejected in its time Yanko Sakuzov's reformist "right-wing socialism," and, subsequently, left-wing sectarianism, nationalism and other ideas and trends alien to scientific socialism. This played a tremendous role in its ideological development. In his time it was Engels himself who drew attention to the fact that without a correct, systematic and profound ideological-theoretical formulation scientific socialism would be unable to become the flesh and blood of the workers movement, and that it is precisely indifference to theory that is one of the main reasons for the slow development of workers movements in some large European countries and for conditions of confusion and trouble experienced by such movements. One can easily imagine the difficulties which would have been inflicted on our workers movement, which was developing at a slow quantitative pace, in the midst of a wide petit bourgeois sea, had our party not always had at its disposal the true compass of scientific socialism and Marxism-Leninism.

The profound loyalty of our party to Marxism enabled it not only to remain loyal to the liberation cause of the working class but directly to penetrate deeply into social reality, to detect the most essential, the basic, the class interests of the workers and of all working people and to express and defend such interests. That is why our party has never tried to be and has never been a closed political elite, a kind of separate sect, separated from the working people and indifferent to the interests of the people's masses. This profound internal tie linking the party with the working class, the party and the working people, was expressed in the course of historical development through the extensive spreading of Marxist-Leninist ideas and their transformation into the ruling ideology of our society in the period of the building of socialism. Thus, the more the party developed and headed the revolutionary process as a mass process, as a movement of all working people, the more it needed, objectively and subjectively, a profound Marxist-Leninist theoretical view and criterion regarding processes and phenomena, the class struggle and the prospects for social development, so that it could be able to provide prompt and proper answers to the questions of the time, and to direct and enrich its methods of action; at the same time, however, this process has a back side which is quite essential: the ever more extensive popularization and dissemination of the

ideas of scientific socialism and their conversion into a militant, struggling and winning revolutionary ideology of the masses.

Along with the steady enrichment and expansion of its ideological potential and influence, the party waged a constant, an uninterrupted struggle against the various bourgeois and petit bourgeois currents and theories, against the varieties and various deviations of revolutionary theory and the attempts to prevent the direct spreading of scientific socialism among the masses and its connection with the specific spiritual needs of the broad popular masses. It is thus that its strong and practically-tested Marxist-Leninist theoretical position is specifically embodied in a long and firm Bulgarian tradition of irreconcilable ideological struggle against any and all deviations or ideological encroachments directed against scientific socialism. We are in full agreement with the history of our party and the specific and numerous facts of our ideological life by noting that to this day the forms of open and ideological struggle are among the best and most tried methods for countering and defeating the class enemy and for developing and planting of our ideas among the working class and the broad people's masses.

As we may see, the fact that by relying on the solid foundation of scientific socialism the party rises to the position of leading political force which frees the working class from the influence of bourgeois politics and ideology through its organizational, political and ideological activities, takes it into a new independent orbit of motion and development, and makes it able to provide true political leadership of the toiling masses is of determining significance in the class-political portrait of our party.

Let us immediately add that this ideological-theoretical and revolutionary-practical experience of ours is one of the greatest gains of our party in the course of its 90 years of history and that we are constantly returning to it in order to be able to understand more profoundly and be guided more accurately in the processes of our time. As we know, we are observing today the uninterrupted attempts of bourgeois ideology to infiltrate within the workers movement its own or suitable social democratic views, approaches and solutions, which not only does not threaten but could even be useful to its class interests. At the same time, for many years, modern anticommunism has focused its main forces against Lenin and Leninism and has been doing everything possible to be able to de-Leninize scientific socialism and the international workers movement, and to de-Leninize the communist parties themselves, particularly those in the most developed capitalist countries. These are no longer external threats surrounding the workers movement without any specific consequences. On the contrary, we are noticing today the actual attempts which are being made to change the internal Marxist-Leninist ideological and theoretical nature of some influential communist parties. We must also see, however, that in all such cases we are faced with an extremely dangerous phenomenon: attempts at the ideological disarming of the workers movement and at internally deforming the revolutionary force and energy of the communist party.

Any attempt at the consideration and resolution of ripe problems by themselves, with a view to one or another pragmatic result, rather than from the positions of the overall laws and principles of Marxism-Leninism, destabilizes the communist movement and opens the way to reformism, conciliationism and defeat in the class struggle. A retreat from the positions of scientific socialism contains the real danger

that the communist party may lose its class orientation and objective, abandon the front of the proletarian class struggle, adopt a reformist platform and lose its revolutionary nature. As the initial and basic form of the ideological disarming of a given party under capitalist conditions, its de-Leninization means opening the way to the social democratization of this party which, in turn, is a prelude to a crisis within the party and to its conversion from an enemy to a partner of the bourgeoisie and from a revolutionary force into an integral component of bourgeois society itself. Under socialist conditions the party's de-Leninization marks the beginning of an internal crisis which, as reality proves, under specific adverse domestic and foreign circumstances, rapidly becomes a crisis of the entire society and a real threat of the destabilization of the socialist social system itself.

As our party's history proves, a creative attitude toward Marxism-Leninism is of the greatest importance to the steady development and advancement of the party's organization and policies.

The point is that the mere one-time acceptance of the basic stipulations of scientific socialism, after which they become a dogma or, worse, a kind of catechism, a static mold and criterion for judging social and political phenomena, is not enough. In this case one puts the mold on, measures the sides and if the phenomenon does not fit it means that it is wrong. Both history as well as our modern times offer drastic examples of the way basic stipulations of our theory are used not as a foundation for creativity and for managing the political process but are raised into a frozen inviolable dogma or even into something like a "holy scripture." Unquestionably, this proves a lack of profound understanding and a misshaping of the very nature of Marxist-Leninist theory, which is not only the bearer of the most profound truth related to social development but is also a constant process of the study of social reality itself. That is why any blind veneration of theory or its conversion into a dogma, rather than its use as a specific manual for action, could remove and isolate any party from reality, condemn it to sectarianism, hinder its ties with the broad masses and, in the final account, compromise its leading role and leading ability.

Without going into unnecessary details let us point out that our party not only had the wisdom to adopt the theory of scientific socialism but was able to display in the course of its historical development the perspicacity of learning steadily, mastering this theory and daringly applying it creatively in accordance with our national conditions, while steadily enriching and developing it. As G. Dimitrov pointed out, "It is easier to master the principles of Marxism-Leninism than the ability properly and promptly to apply such principles in practice as a manual for action at all stages of social development."[7]

It is true that in the course of its entire history the party has not always been able to master and apply Marxist-Leninist doctrine properly and promptly when faced with some events and processes. As we know, the delay with which the party accepted the new features which V. I. Lenin introduced into Marxist theory prevented it from accurately understanding and assessing the events and processes which were occurring in our country at the end of World War I and the subsequent years. As a result of this, the party adopted an erroneous position toward the Vladaya events and, particularly, the military-fascist 9 June coup d'etat. However, the beginning process of Leninization of the party and its transformation into a party of a new, a Leninist, type raised it to the level of the tasks and requirements of the time and updated its political activities in such a way that at the proper time it assumed the

hegemony in the revolutionary struggle and became the main leading force of all progressive forces fighting the fascist onslaught. It was thus that, through its own experience, the BCP reached the truth that it is precisely through Leninism that the party can rise to the level of the times and become armed with the theory of the socialist revolution and of the building of a real socialist society.

Our party has always emphasized that it owes its achievements to the creative application of Lenin's ideas. It was precisely the general principles of Leninism and their brilliant consummation in the October Revolution and the building of socialism in the USSR which made it possible for our party to master specifically the historical characteristic of Bulgarian social reality and to provide original solutions to many problems of the building of socialism in our country.

Currently the international communist and workers movements are sharply discussing the dialectics of the universal and the spe ific in the class struggle and the building of socialism. We hardly consider this to be an artificial discussion. As we know, for a while no attention was paid to these problems, considering their importance. Priority was given to general laws and concepts, while the characteristics of specific processes and phenomena through which they made their way and through which the general laws as summarized in our theory are manifested were studied relatively less. Without reducing in the least the significance of the general laws, the current stage in the development of the revolutionary process and of the building of socialism has given increased current significance to the consideration of specific historical, social, national and other specific features and conditions in which the revolutionary struggle and the building of socialism are developing. Paralleling this positive need a negative trend appeared, according to which, in the final accounting, everything is reduced to the specific, to the regional, to the national levels. From the viewpoint of the matter under consideration, this means the absolutizing of national autonomy and individual characteristics of the separate communist parties. Lenin already has noted in his book "What is To Be Done" that splits, hesitations, readiness to compromise and grand concessions, and the petty practicalism and total theoretical carelessness which prevailed at that time led to the fact that scientific socialism stopped being an integral revolutionary theory, becoming a mishmash to which each newly published German textbook "freely" contributed.[8] For the sake of the truth we must note that today as well. particularly insistent efforts are being made to"pour additional liquids," drawn first and foremost from the misunderstood "national characteristic." It is in this manner that a thoroughly familiar problem of our movement is returning to the foreground: what kind of approach could be classified as being a contemporary and a creative approach to the theory of Marxism-Leninism?

Naturally, in the course of their activities the communist parties are guided by the overall principles and laws, for it is precisely they that crystallize the main, essential, recurrent and natural features of all isolated and special processes and phenomena of the class struggle in each country, big or small, advanced or backward, located in one or another part of the world. At the same time, however, the accurate and creative attitude toward the common and practically-tried truths regarding the class struggle and the socialist revolution does not mean ignoring specific features. It does not mean refusing to take into consideration regional features or pitting some specific conditions against others. Conversely, it means the mandatory adoption of a specific historical approach, for

each common law appears precisely within a given set of specific regional unique phenomena and circumstances. The communist party or communist leaders were unable to understand and take into consideration that the features of the specific revolutionary process and the variety within the global transition from capitalism to socialism are dogmatic and are as dangerous as those who fail to see behind a specific fact a profound pattern and behind a temporary advantage the basic interests and objectives of the revolution. "As long as national and governmental differences exist among nations and countries," Lenin wrote, "differences which will remain for quite some time even after the dictatorship of the proletariat has been achieved on a global scale, the unity of the international tactic of the communist workers movement in all countries demands not the elimination of the variety or of national differences (for the time being, this is a hollow dream) but the type of application of the basic principles of communism (a soviet system and proletarian dictatorship) which can properly change these principles in their detail and properly adapt and apply to national and national-state differences."[9] It is in the spirit of this Leninist thought that we could say that we can speak of a creative Marxist-Leninist attitude, of a heuristic attitude toward contemporary processes and phenomena, only when we penetrate deeply into the new social reality and circumstances, on the basis of common Marxist-Leninist principles and laws, and provide an accurate solution to the topical problems encountered by revolutionary work.

As we know, it was precisely such an innovative dialectical approach that enabled Lenin to resolve both the fundamental and the grave yet topical problems of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism. By adopting such principle-minded Leninist stipulation, the CPSU gave us a unique example of great innovation and creativity unparalleled in human history. Naturally, what the USSR achieved is not a model which can be simply transposed or automatically copied and moved. It is a question of something more important and more complex: of the fact that the practice of the building of socialism in the USSR and the other members of the socialist comity, including our country, unquestionably proves the universal validity of the overall laws of the socialist revolution. At the same time, this is a real triumph of the specific historical characteristic of the development of individual countries and peoples along the socialist path. "As we know," Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, "the common feature in the revolutionary process and in the building of a socialist society in different countries is implemented in specific characteristic ways."[10]

What else is needed for the adoption of a creative approach and attitude to theory and reality by a Marxist-Leninist party?

We should not look for the answer too far: the 90-year history of the BCP gives us the necessary grounds from which to draw a major conclusion: in order for a party to be creative, a number of things are needed: the high ideological-theoretical standard of the party and its leading cadres, a creative atmosphere, a strong and capable leadership, a creative style and work method, clear awareness of the ways and means through which knowledge and society move, and so on. However, if they are present, the main, the decisive feature is that, on the one hand, Marxist-Leninist creativity is impossible without Marxist-Leninist theoretical consistency and without loyalty and dedication to the ideas and principles of scientific socialism; on the other, that without constant theoretical study of reality and

without taking into consideration the characteristics and changes in specific social practices, no flexible, innovative and creative activity and struggle are possible. The Marxist-Leninist party must adopt not only an accurate but a flexible application of the general principles in terms of specific historical conditions. The fact that new problems constantly arise and demand new answers demands of the party always to display a live, an active, a creative attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory. As Lenin himself noted, right-wing doctrinairism acknowledges exclusively the old forms, ignoring the new content; in turn, left-wing doctrinairism rejects the old forms without realizing that the new content makes its way through all possible forms. According to Lenin it is the duty of the communist to master all methods, to learn to supplement one method with another and to replace one method with another and adapt their tactic to any triggered change in circumstances with maximum speed.[11]

In the course of its historical development our party has incessantly struggled against conservatism and a dogmatic attitude toward theory, against ossification and sclerosis in the application of the basic Marxist-Leninist principles, against right-wing and left-wing opportunism and against all attempts to revise scientific socialism. Loyal to its creative approach to the topical problems, objectives and tasks of the workers movement and the building of socialism, after each one of its mistakes or omissions, the party was able to draw accurate, profound and, most importantly, principled conclusions, i.e., conclusions based on Marxist-Leninist theory. In this sense it developed as a party with a profound feeling of realism, a critical attitude toward itself and toward achieved results, never conceited by successes or demoralized by difficulties and errors. Our party has always shown a feeling for the new, for the offshoots in life. At the same time, it has always had the strength and valor to look the truth in the eyes. Such a profoundly scientific approach, principle-mindedness and honesty are among its most remarkable virtues.

Therefore, history gives us yet another contemporary lesson: the ability to engage in theoretical and practical creativity is a fundamental characteristic of a Marxist-Leninist party. A party which loses or weakens within itself this feature actually loses the prerequisites for being the political vanguard and leader of the working class and the people's masses.

As we know, the long revolutionary struggle of the Bulgarian working class ended with the victorious socialist revolution and was legitimately extended in the building of the new socialist society. Unquestionably, this historical success achieved by our working class is due to the greatest extent also to the circumstance that it was cohesive and was invariably guided by its own Marxist-Leninist party, which considered scientific socialism as the highest science for the revolutionary reorganization of society.

From an historical viewpoint, the party of the Bulgarian communists enjoys the advantage of firmly relying on revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory and of steadily enriching itself through the study of the revolutionary experience of the global proletariat and, particularly, the experience of the October Revolution and of V. I. Lenin's great party, and that, above all, it studies attentively and profoundly the specific historical conditions, and the course and development of the revolutionary process in our own country.

It is at this point that some circles ask the following topical question: could we consider the revolutionary experience acquired by our country and the other countries of real socialism practiced by the working class and their Marxist-Leninist parties as one of the essential manifestations of the common laws governing the class struggle, which were discovered and are studied and steadily developed and enriched by Marxist-Leninist doctrine, or should we consider this experience as an individual case which neither could nor should be generalized?

Let us explain: this question does not arise from the need for providing an accurate and precise assessment of our revolutionary traditions, for our attitude toward such traditions is clear and definite: they are the priceless capital of the working class and of the communist party, the entire people. We consider it unquestionable that the revolutionary Marxist party, whose objective is not merely to participate in sharing the power but to lead and take the working class and the people to the revolutionary reorganization of society itself, must stand firmly on the founding principles of scientific socialism, on the theory of Marxism-Leninism. However, the problem is that there exists today a clearly manifested trend, shown by right-wing and left-wing revisionism, of restricting the significance of party revolutionary experience, acquired so far through the class struggle, of underestimating the historical and contemporary achievements of the global socialist system, and of criticizing the CPSU, the BCP and the other communist parties in socialist and nonsocialist countries, which are building real socialism or developing their revolutionary activities in accordance with the basic stipulations and requirements of scientific socialism. In the complex context of today's socio-economic, political and cultural conditions, some circles have begun to mention the "regional" significance of the experience acquired by the socialist countries and their parties, and about the essential changes in the objectives and tasks and ways and means of the policies practiced by communist parties in some of the most developed capitalist countries, and so on.

A closer look at this phenomenon will inevitably prove that it is actually growing on the thick stem of the contemporary class struggle. It is related to the inordinate current expansion and development of the global revolutionary process. It is also related to the real fact that the international communist and workers movements have entered a new stage in their development and that new phenomena and processes have appeared which must be promptly taken into consideration and studied.

To begin with, the contemporary stage of the revolutionary movement is distinguished by the tremendous changes which have taken place in the ratio of forces in the world between the three currents of the revolutionary movement, on the one hand, and capitalism, imperialism and the other reactionary forces, on the other. Unquestionably, the countries of victorious socialism, headed by the USSR, which are building an essentially new society without class oppression, the exploitation of man by man or antagonistic class struggle, have assumed the leading role in the contemporary revolutionary process. At the same time, the remarkable revolutionary victories of backward yet severely oppressed classes and peoples are of most essential significance. The antiimperialist struggle in colonial and dependent countries made its considerable contribution to the development and enrichment of the global revolutionary process and the intensification of the general crisis of the capitalist social system. Finally, the struggle for social and political independence of the working class in the developed capitalist countries is continuing and is steadily

expanding and intensifying. All theories concerning the "abatement" of internal contradictions within capitalist society and the "disappearance" of the proletariat as a separate class--as a barrier of social and political progress--notwithstanding, the facts irrefutably prove that the basic class antagonism is reproduced at all levels of development of the capitalist socioeconomic system.

We see today the implementation of Lenin's prediction of the historical merger among the struggle for the building of a new socialist society, the struggle waged by the proletariat for social and political liberation and the struggle of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, within a general revolutionary process. This way the class struggle of the proletariat today is not an isolated phenomenon breaking out in one or another country, as was the case in the 19th century. It is being waged everywhere. It is penetrating in depth in all existing social forms and structures and is conquering in width all countries and peoples, actually the entire globe. It is here that we discover the second characteristic feature of the contemporary revolutionary process: the qualitatively new level of the ideological, political and organizational maturity of individual parties and of the international communist movement as a whole. At the same time, unquestionably this dynamic development in depth and width of the global revolutionary process today seeks and finds its real manifestation in the wealth of ways and means of class struggle, in the wealth of roads and methods leading to the assertion of the socialist social system, and that it is distinguished by the discovery of a variety of ways leading to the revolutionary development of backward and colonial countries. It is thus that in the common flow of the global revolutionary process today there is unity and variety. The various detachments of the revolutionary movement are increasing and steadily enhancing the level of their revolutionary maturity. It is on this basis that new ways leading to a socialist victory are sought. This is an entirely natural phenomenon which reflects and expresses the wealth of the transition from capitalism to socialism on a global scale.

However, it is precisely the circumstance that the contemporary global revolutionary process is transforming when it reaches different levels, in accordance with the level of socioeconomic, political and cultural development of the individual countries, regions or continents, that has encouraged revisionist trends toward absolute separation and excessive and one-sided emphasis on exclusively or essentially national and regional features or on the specific nature of some countries. Under the aegis of their desire to adapt as successfully as is possible to the specific conditions of the struggle and the requirements of the specific historical moment and the national specific features, some people have gone so far as to separate themselves from the other detachments of that same global revolutionary process. Particularly indicative in this respect are the intentions of some leaders and circles of some communist parties in developed capitalist countries to set themselves apart and separate themselves from all other communist parties and, particularly, from the example and activities of the parties in the socialist countries. Thus, priority is given once again to the question of what type of party, policy and theory does the contemporary revolutionary struggle demand?

It becomes clear, therefore, that in this case the directions taken by these and other similar parties do not deviate from the trend existing in the global revolutionary movement. Since, starting with October 1917 and to this day, essentially a process of broadening of the social base of the revolution has been developing, these parties have tried to broaden their social base and become a deeper part of

the social structure of the individual country by involving a more considerable percentage of the people's masses within a democratic movement for social and political change. On the one hand this is necessary with a view to the actual circumstance that in the developed capitalist countries today ever broader masses, the tremendous majority of the toiling population, are involved in class contradictions. An understandable desire exists to use for purposes of the revolutionary struggle the contradiction, the objective clash between the interests of the broad people's masses and the ruling bourgeois class. As Lenin noted perspicaciously, the social revolution is inconceivable without the uprising of small nations in colonial countries and in Europe, without a revolutionary explosion of parts of the petite bourgeoisie, with all its prejudices, and without the movement of the unconscious proletarian and semiproletarian masses against the various forms of social oppression.[12] Indeed, here the question of tapping and controlling the spontaneous indignation of the various petit bourgeois strata and of the unconscious or semiconscious proletarian masses is a key problem from the viewpoint of the creation of a broad antimonopoly front.

At the same time, however, the tendency to adapt more completely to this contemporary situation has led a number of personalities and even individual circles in some parties to the state of openly revising Lenin's theory of the role and nature of the communist party in the revolutionary process.

As we know, the parties of the Second International allowed the free existence of opportunistic currents and factions within themselves. This determined their conciliationist rather than revolutionary political strategy and tactics. Lenin created a party of a new type, a party which, through its ideological and organizational unity for the sake of the final objective, was able to lead the people's masses to a decisive and systematic struggle against the domination of the bourgeois class. However, despite the brilliant historical test which this Leninist concept passed, today mention is being made of abandoning the idea of a "centralized party," and of seeking a different type of party which could open "new prospects leading to socialism," struggle for "democratic and independent socialism" and for "liberal socialism," and so on. This openly raises the question of the respective changes in the internal ideas and organizational principles which govern the structure of the communist party itself. On this basis there has been talk of "ideological pluralism," i.e., of allowing the existence within the party itself of different and even opposite ideas and views; there has also been talk of "organizational pluralism," which means the rejection of the principles of centralism in the internal party structure and the free existence of various groups and organizations within the common overall party organization; finally, the question was raised of political pluralism in the revolutionary process. This means not only the building of a common front by all antimonopoly forces in a given country but also that within this front the working class and the communist party has not been called upon and will not always be able to play a hegemonistic role within the movement.

Unquestionably, each communist party must develop and does develop in accordance with the development of society, the specific circumstances and the search for new allies with a view to its internal ideological, political and organizational growth and in accordance with the changes in the socioclass breakdown and the internal stratification of a given society. Does this mean that all such changes are of a nature such as to go beyond the framework of Lenin's theory of the party? That is precisely the idea to which we object.

As we know, neither Lenin nor Leninism has ever opposed the broad political alliances of the people's masses. They have encouraged them. Neither Lenin nor Leninism has excluded the peaceful development of the revolutionary process and the use of the opportunities provided by the developed forms of bourgeois democracy for the political struggle of the working class and the people's masses under the leadership of the communist party; neither Lenin nor Leninism has excluded in any degree the political and ideological creativity of communist parties under the specific conditions of their work and struggle. Furthermore, it was precisely Lenin and Leninism, after Marx and Marxism, that developed theoretically and applied in practice the concept of the broad political alliance of the masses under the leadership of the working class and the party, such as to isolate the bourgeois class and to pit it against the people at large. It was precisely Lenin and Leninism which, creatively and systematically developing the ideas of Marx and Engels, formulated and applied the theoretical stipulation of a possible peaceful development of the revolutionary process and the utilization of the chances offered by the proletarian struggle acquired as a result of the gains of the working people within the limits of bourgeois political democracy, relating revolutionary force to the behavior of the bourgeois class, and who practically ensured a peaceful period in the development of the October Revolution. It was precisely Lenin and Leninism that always warned not to copy experience but to study and apply it creatively, in accordance with specific circumstances and social and historical specific features in which the common laws governing the revolutionary struggle of the working class are manifested. That is precisely the reason for which the theoretical motivation of the rejection of Leninism is theoretically groundless and essentially represents an unscientific and untheoretical attitude toward Marxist-Leninist theory.

As we can see, the desire to broaden the social base of the revolutionary struggle by penetrating deeper into the social structure of the developed capitalist countries has led some individuals and even individual parties to actually underestimate the theoretical possibilities of Marxism-Leninism in terms of today's revolutionary movement.

This is a significant and dangerous retreat from the positions of scientific socialism. Essentially, it is a question of rejecting Leninism as a revolutionary theoretical weapon wielded by the parties of a new type, as a concept which demands not only the study and utilization of the objective possibilities of gaining new class allies but of engaging in a permanent search for suitable means for the implementation of the hegemonistic role of the working class in the revolutionary process. Leninism is a doctrine of the optimal ways of the transition from capitalism to socialism, rather than a theory of class compromise, ideological retreat or subordination of the revolutionary movement to the existing political and social set of circumstances.

In conclusion, it would be proper to draw and emphasize the main lesson from the analysis of the 90-year history of our party from the viewpoint of its ideological foundations: both in the past and today there could be no revolutionary party whose aim is the socialist reorganization of society without firm reliance on the theory of scientific communism, which gives the party an overall view of the movement and of its specific development during a given period and in the course of the pursuit of the final objectives. Real socialism cannot be built without scientific socialism. It was no accident that in their "Communist Party Manifesto" Marx and Engels

emphasized that a proletarian party has the theoretical advantage of defending the common, the final interests of the proletariat, that it penetrates deeply and understands thoroughly the conditions, development and overall results of the proletarian movement. It is precisely the Marxist-Leninist theory that offers each party a basic solution to the problem, particularly important today, of the communist movement, the problem of the relationship among the party, the working class and the people's masses, and of the specific development of the communist movement in accordance with the realities of the individual country or movement.

Consequently, in the epoch of the building of a developed socialist society as well, and of the radical confrontation between the two global systems--socialism and capitalism--the epoch of revolutionary victories won by colonial countries and peoples, more than ever before we must consider Marxist-Leninist theory not a dogma but a manual for action. From the viewpoint of the problem we are discussing, more specifically this means that the party adapts to the specific circumstances of the struggle not through deviations or the abandonment of Marxist-Leninist principles or the theoretical concepts confirmed by revolutionary practice but through the creative utilization of these concepts and the principled and creative utilization of the tremendous heuristic opportunities offered by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. This demands that our theory be considered not only as a collection of familiar truths but as a process of the study of reality, of detecting within the confusion of specific circumstances and conditions the best way leading to the truth itself, as a process of constant discovery of new truths which enrich those which are already known.

It is precisely this attitude toward theory that is today as well of essential significance in defining the ways which a contemporary Marxist-Leninist party takes and follows in the course of its policies and its struggle.

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Zhivkov, "Otchet na TsK na BKP Pred XII Kongress i Predstoyashtite Zadachi na Partiyata" [BCP Central Committee Reports to the 12th Congress and the Forthcoming Party Tasks]. Sofia, 1981, p 159.

2. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Izbrani Pisma" [Selected Correspondence]. Sofia, 1952, p 306.

3. D. Blagoev, "Such." [Works], Vol 18, pp 39-40.

4. D. Blagoev, "Partiyata i Sindikalnoto Dvizhenie v Bulgariya" [The Party and the Trade Union Movement in Bulgaria]. Sofia, 1979, p 7.

5. "Materialy XXVI S"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 77.

6. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such." [Collected Works], Vol 6, p 24.

7. G. Dimitrov, "Izbr. Proizv." [Selected Works], Vol 8, p 247.

8. V. I. Lenin, "Subr. Such.," Vol 6, p 175.

9. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Vol 31, pp 79-80.

10. T. Zhivkov, "Izbr. Such." [Selected Works], Vol 26, p 544.

11. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Vol 31, p 92.

12. V. I. Lenin, "Such.," Vol 22, pp 371-372.

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ROLE, TASKS OF TRANSPORTATION TROOPS DESCRIBED

Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov Interview

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Interview with Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov, transportation troop commander by representatives of NARODNA ARMIYA, TRUDOVO DELO, GRANICHAR AND MAGISTRALI, and Bulgarian Radio, date and place not given]

[Text] To begin with, it seemed to us that this creative assignment had something unusual in it. A group of journalists were meeting with the command of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation. There was nothing unusual in this. On the contrary, instead of holding a discussion on the problems of the troops in the office of their commander, Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov, the journalists were offered an opportunity to visit the most important projects, traveling by motor carriage, to see the daily life of the troops and to meet with those who are implementing the decisions of the 12th congress. Journalists representing the newspapers NARODNA ARMIYA, TRUDOVO DELO, GRANICHAR AND MAGISTRALI, and the military affairs editors of "Zvezda" of the Bulgarian Radio are in the vast hall of the coach, seated around a big oblong table. They will be accompanied on their trip by Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov, Maj Gen Stoyan Seymenov, chief of the political department of the forces of the Ministry of Transportation, and the officer Georgi Karakekhayov. The introductions have been made. Well, what kind of introductions? This is a meeting among all the war comrades. When they discuss matters as friends and comrades, frankness is the greatest feature of a fruitful dialog.

Naturally, the journalists are awaiting with particular interest the answers of Major General Kis'ov. The coach takes off slowly. In a while the outline of Sofia remains behind us. We can begin:

Question: The latest organization within the system of the armed forces of the Bulgarian people's republic are the troops of the Ministry of Transportation. Comrade Major General Kis'ov, would you describe their birth, initial difficulties and initial successes?

Answer: This took place in the autumn of 1974. One morning Comrade Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation, rang up and asked me to be ready, together with Major General Seymenov (at that time Colonel), chief of the political department of the troops, and two other command officers to meet with Comrade T. Zhivkov, on the premises of the BCP Central Committee. I thought that this would take place in at least some ten days, bearing in mind how busy our first party and state leader was. I was greatly surprised when that same afternoon I was told that the meeting would

take place at 1800 hours. Ten minutes before the set time we were waiting in the reception room. I was quite excited. At one point the door opened. Comrade Zhivkov showed up and welcomed us: "Come on, Comrades!" I do not know whether it was the voice or Comrade Zhivkov's bright smile, but my excitement disappeared immediately. A very informal atmosphere developed and we calmly reported on our work. At that meeting Comrade Zhivkov described his idea of setting up the forces of the Ministry of Transportation. He defined their main tasks which were the following:

The building of double railroad tracks and their electrification;

The laying of new main line tracks;

Most active participation in railroad track repairs;

Active participation in the operation of the railroads;

Training of performing and executive cadres for railroad transportation; and

Performance of our military duties.

We received our plan the very first day of operations. We mounted, so to speak, our attack on the run. We had difficulties in terms of living conditions and personnel problems. But is there an easy beginning to anything? In the course of the struggle to surmount them the troops matured. By decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, passed in 1976, they were organized in the present structure. Let me particularly emphasize that the troops of the minister of transportation are the heirs of the Railroad Troops and of their experience, traditions and successes.

Question: The creation of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation coincides with the start of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. How did the forces carry out their assignments?

Answer: Despite the objective difficulties related to the initial period of development of the troops, the Seventh Five-Year Plan was fulfilled. By the end of the five-year plan the transportat troops had become a powerful military-construction organization within the system of the National Transportation Complex. All in all, the plan was fulfilled 105 percent. One hundred five km of double railroad tracks were laid, capital repairs of 1,000 km of tracks and average repairs of 500 km of tracks were carried out. All economic indicators were reached. The profit plan was fulfilled 134 percent and the net output plan, 110 percent. These figures represent dedicated labor, a high feeling of responsibility and higher conscientiousness. During that period the forces were closely supervised by the party's Central Committee. The visits which Comrade Tano Tsolov, Ognyan Doynov and Army Gen Dobri Dzhurov paid to the troops had a beneficial influence on their dynamic development.

Troops and commanders will never forget their exciting meeting with Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Peko Takov last year. After long observation and discussion, Comrade Zhivkov said: "Splendid people are working in the transportation troops!" In the evening, after touring many sites, he stated: "Today you have made my soul and my heart full!" To us, the transportation troops, this is a high acknowledgement and an obligation to achieve new accomplishments.

Question: Comrade Major General, in accordance with the decisions of the 12th congress the party calls for the further development of successes achieved in the various sectors. What are the tasks facing the troops of the Ministry of Transportation?

Answer: Comrade T. Zhivkov pointed out in the accountability report to the 12th congress that improving the structure of the transportation system is of significance to our economy, giving priority to the development of rail transport. Transportation is of tremendous importance in the country's overall activities. This calls for paying greater attention to it, for upgrading the level of discipline and for improving the organization of the work. Hence the serious assignments facing our troops. Compared with the Seventh Five-Year Plan, their volume will double in the Eighth. We shall lay 210 km of double railroad tracks, carry out capital repairs of 1,800 km of tracks and medium repairs of 1,000 km. The troops will participate in the electrification of 200 to 250 km of railroad tracks and in the laying of the Khemus and Trakiya main highways. Capital repairs will involve the participation of 100 percent of the troops while 70 percent of the troops will be involved in medium repairs.

Question: Our country has already entered the Eighth Five-Year Plan. How was the first half of 1981 completed?

Answer: Today you will see for yourselves that with us every day brings something new, in the sense that every day new kilometers of railroad track and roadbeds are being laid. The semiannual results have been good. New double tracks have been laid, capital repairs totaling 110.2 km and medium repairs totaling 85.5 km have been completed. The semiannual plan was fulfilled 116 percent. These figures show that an indicative start was taken in the Eighth Five-Year Plan at a high pace. This is a secure guarantee for future successes. As the folk saying goes, the day is seen by its morning.

This is indeed the truth. We started with the idea of meeting the forces of the Ministry of Transportation, whose daily work creates labor exploits and updates the map of the homeland. Accomplishments, accomplishments, accomplishments! This party imperative has become the meaning and the content of the lives of the purposeful soldiers, a wealth which has physical measurements. It is found in the tracks laid and main automobile highways, the tireless efforts to provide the troops with social benefits, the training of specialized cadres, the daily intensification of the production process, and the mass study, dissemination and utilization of leading experience. Major General Kis'ov's story gave us a complete picture of inspired toil for the sake of the blossoming of our country, a toil filled with a spirit of innovation and creative zeal.

Patriotism of Transportation Troops

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 81 p 3

[Article by Maj Gen Stoyan Seymenov, chief of the Political Department of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation]

[Text] Under the conditions of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation the problems related to the study, interpretation and implementation of the decisions of

Maj Gen Mit'o Kis'ov

Maj Gen Stoyan Seymenov

the 12th BCP Congress are being resolved with the necessary feeling of responsibility by political organs, commanders and party, Komsomol and trade union managements and organizations. A number of meetings with delegates to the congress and of primary party organizations, Komsomol and trade union meetings and meetings of aktivs were held. On the initiative of the political department, starting with 1 Jun 1981, on the example of the Soviet Army, a consolidated political day was introduced. In accordance with the decisions of the 12th congress, the command drafted and adopted programs on the following problems specific to us:

Development of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation on the basis of the concentration and specialization of basic activities; upgrading the quality of construction and installation work; reducing the share of manual operations and of heavy physical and unattractive work in carrying out construction and installation projects; engaging in engineering-applied and rationalization activities; most effective utilization of productive capital; material and technical support for construction projects; and social development.

The troop collectives and Komsomol organizations and societies took up a number of initiatives such as "Youth Fund for the Eighth Five-Year Plan," "Military Glory XII-1,300," "12 Shock Ten-Day Periods," "12 Shock Weeks of Safe Traffic in Operational Activities," "Komsomol Quality Guarantee," "Days of Komsomol Management of the Labor Process," and others. All this helped to raise the conscientiousness and activeness of the personnel in carrying out the construction assignments of the troops. In the first half of the year the troops fulfilled 51.5 percent of their annual program with overfulfillment totaling 6,265,000 leva; this includes 52.5 percent of the capital construction plan, with an overfulfillment totaling 3,093,000 leva, and 51 percent of the repairs plan with an overfulfillment of 2,136,000 leva.

Extensive and comprehensive activities are developing among the troops in celebration of the 13th centennial of the founding of the Bulgarian state. In this respect the meeting between party-political workers and Comrade Todor Ribarov, chief secretary of the National Coordination Commission "1,300 Years of Bulgaria," proved to be very useful. The coordination of the measures related to the celebration of the 12th party congress, the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of our state, the 25th year of the April plenum and the 90th anniversary of the founding of the party develops in the troops loyalty to the party, patriotism and an active life stance.

Extensive organizational and mass-political work is developing in the units. The necessary objective and subjective prerequisites for the steady expansion of such activities and the utilization of the rich ideological and emotional charge of the anniversaries have been created. They enhance the patriotic and international upbringing of the personnel and promote socialist competition for the timely and qualitative implementation of construction, operational and training tasks. The historical significance of the founding of the Bulgarian state in the year 681 and the basic stages and periods in its development and the military battles in which the heroism of the Bulgarian troops was manifested are explained to the personnel. The achievements of the material and spiritual culture of socialist Bulgaria are propagandized. The spiritual roots of the Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Soviet friendship and its role in the existence and social progress of the Bulgarian state and the nature of the policy of the BCP and the CPSU of the all-round rapprochement between our countries, peoples and armed forces are brought up.

On the eve of the celebration of the great national holiday the anniversary projects were completed: the doubling and electrification of the Mezdra-Strupets and Cherven Bryag-Pleven railroad sections, the completion of the administrative building of the command of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation and the doubling of the Strazhitsa-Asenovo railroad section.

Our many-sided party-political work contributing to the fuller and more profound description of the past, the present and the future, and to enhancing the socialist conscientiousness and further developing the feeling of responsibility of every officer, sergeant, private, employee and worker. With this we develop and enrich the communist moral features and virtues of the troops and their feeling for duty, national pride, socialist patriotism and internationalism.

Construction Troops' Life

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 21 Jul 81 pp 1-2

[Text] Each railroad station or port marks the beginning or the end of a trip. It is a lively crossroads of excited people in a hurry, people departing and arriving, people who sent someone off or are waiting for someone. It is a crossroads of smiles, sighs and awaited meetings or partings. There is no difference between day and night, holiday or working day, as the high level of tension remains. Here everyone is "on the way," and everyone is in a hurry to reach his objective. It seems that precisely when a person is "on the way" that his character, his dreams and his aspirations are revealed most simply. Frequently it is at the railroad station or in a train that friendships are born. In such cases upbringing, love of man and comradeship find their best manifestation....

Central Station, Sofia. It is 10 minutes after seven. In about 10 minutes our group will take off in the wake of the "flaming traces" of the troops and commanders of the forces of the Ministry of Transportation.

Our conversation with Major General Kis'ov is already taking us through the years of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. The results of the work of the troops are bright spots on the great canvas of the homeland. They show the place and significance to our economy not only of their contribution but of the entire national transportation complex. All indicators of the Seventh Five-Year Plan were met.

We listened to the story of Major General Kis'ov and recalled the words of Georgi Dimitrov at the 5 December 1945 congress of Bulgarian railroad workers and seamen. At that time the leader of our people spoke with concern about the dislocation caused by the war and the problems which had to be resolved.

Almost 36 years have passed since that December day. As the saying goes, "Much water has passed under the bridge" since that time. The national economy was not only restored but made great progress in its development. The creation of the troops of the Ministry of Transportation are contributing to the even better solution of the problems in the field of transportation, problems which were created by our time, so that the "arteries" can be always reliable and safe....

"Sleepily, the tracks click in the darkness, and the joints ache from fatigue...," someone says. Sleepily? No!

The tracks are awake and gaily sing along with the wheels in this happy morning of our socialist homeland. We see this in the cheerful face of locomotive engineer Todor Simeonov. His silvery hair shows a long practical experience. It turns out that this wizened person is not only an excellent locomotive engineer but an excellent teacher as well. He teaches at the T. Kableshkov PZhI [Semihigher Railroad Institute]. He is, one may say, an "instructor" of the highest category. He has trained and sent along the steel tracks a large army of locomotive engineers.

Past Mezdra we are traveling "at our own speed." This is required by the circumstance that we must stop at various places, where the tracks are being rebuilt or else work on the doubling or electrification of the tracks is under way.

The first stop is also our first target. "This is described as the bridge of the year," perhaps because of the difficulties which accompanied its construction.... Anyway, since it is in the hands of the troops, it will be completed and delivered on time. Our hospitable hosts tell us that the application of the new economic approach and new mechanism have made a major contribution to the successful solution of the problems and that the brigade organization has made itself felt and has become a permanent feature of the labor process. We listen with interest about the four different directions along which scientific and technical progress is being applied, namely: maintenance of existing equipment; introduction of new technologies; improvements of technical facilities and industrialization of construction.... This is fully consistent with the requirements set by the 12th party congress regarding the Eighth Five-Year Plan.

We cross yet another bridge and meet more construction troops. We are traveling across one of the most difficult sectors, covered with bridges and tunnels. Together

with the railroad station complex, its length exceeds 10 km. Its delivery deadline is the end of the year.

Our next stop is the "trench" at km....

"That was a hard nut to crack.... This may be our most difficult project..."

Soon afterward we find ourselves in the very "fire of the battle." From above we can see the work best. Several earth-digging machines are removing rocks. Their thunder blends with the noise of the dumptrucks which take the crumbled rocks away. As is proper, the first meeting here is with the chief of the project. Information on the work follows the usual report. Senior Lt V. Naydenov gives us specific data: about 150,000 cubic meters of earth must be removed before the end of July....

We are standing above the huge ditch several hundred meters long and more than 14 meters deep. The resistance of the rock was indeed strong, but the rock has already "surrendered." All that remains is a thin "shield" which will soon crumble and the tracks of the new double section will be completed. With the help of the new bridge it will merge with the main tracks.

We have written many names in our notebooks. Two of them stand out: that of Captain Klisarov and his colleague Senior Lieutenant Naydenov, whose implementation of the planned norms never dropped below 100 percent for all indicators!

The thought that great accomplishments are achieved by courageous and strong people is proved here. Here we find them at each km along the way, dressed in uniforms or civilian work clothes. Their faces are burned by the sun and the wind, their hands are cracked and the fire in their hearts is blazing. Many examples of valorous service are found here. Let us mention briefly the family of Stoilka and Yordan Stoychev. They are excavator operators. They have earned the respect of the others with their work, patriotism and courage!

We reach the final stop, alight from the coach and climb into a bus which is taking us to yet another "point of fire." Our meeting with the detachment commanded by Officer Stoycho Panayotov is punctuated by a sudden fine rain...

"There was a steep hill here!" someone says, surprised.

Today this is a flat area of 25 decares. The roadway for the new twin tracks is being opened in its southernmost section. Beyond it a train of dumptrucks is pouring fertile chernozem on the ground. A wonderful, fertile field will be left behind and will be planted in crops this very autumn.

"Quite interesting!" we say. "Is this a new idea?"

"No, it has become our practice," the battalion commander added. "Some 10 km behind us we left another field of 40 decares..."

Darkness is falling, and the rain increases. We hasten to the elevation where a grand monument stands in honor of the fighters for the people's freedom in this area, whose immortal names will be glorified by grateful Bulgaria through the centuries... and, once again, we take off.

We forget the sharp and even clicking of the coach and our ears become attuned to the greater variety of noises in the bus. The morning is fresh and clear. The sunrise is rich like translucent grapes. We try to get a taste of it with our lips, our lungs and our pores. The day begins to ripen and becomes heavy with heat.

Once again we are on the tracks. In one of the sectors immediately after the Levski railroad station we are scheduled to see capital repairs along the tracks. This operation is known as "pairing," i.e., repairs of a specific section of the tracks (usually 500 to 600 meters), which must take place within a strictly defined period of time which is known as a "window" in the general traffic schedule.

The troops of the battalion commanded by Captain S. Stefanov are at work in this sector. The first person we meet is welder Private First Class P. Petrov, who puts the finishing touches to the work of the group which is removing the bindings of the old tracks. Here and there cut bolts and traces of the torch flames are visible.

A machine, the likes of which we frequently see in documentaries on the Baykal-Amur mainline, is slowly approaching us traveling along the tracks. The so-called tracklayer (it literally lays an entire track section in a matter of minutes) is now removing the old bits of tracks and sleepers and loading them on a special work train. The bulldozer operated by Private First Class Kh. Mekhmedov starts work on the stripped foundation, known as the ballast lense. He evens up the crushed rock which will soon absorb the weight of hundreds of tons.

Lt D. Dimitrov, deputy commander for political affairs, takes us to the relatively biggest group of troops moving ahead of another track-layer. The iron arms of the machine extract a brand-new section of rail and smoothly drop it on the still-unfinished ballast lense. Immediately it is grabbed by dozens of young arms or, more specifically, by special levers in the hands of the troops who place and level the track. All this takes place very quickly and in an orderly fashion. The group commander, Jr Sgt F. Nedzhibov, is standing between the two new tracks. He is shouting something like "Hey-hop, hey-hop," and his comrades repeat after him, although their attention is entirely absorbed by the way in which the new track has been laid on the roadbed.

Our eyes focus on the hands of the young people who are performing miracles in front of us. They are calm, confident and firm in the course of their steady work. Everyone knows that in no more than a few hours the "window" will be closed and the first trains will pass over those tracks. It is true that the first of them will be traveling very slowly. This, however, is no relief, for they will be followed by trains crowded with people!

The new tracks are still not ready. Many of the features have to be completed. To begin with, a machine which removes the old ballast and sieves the soil shows up, doing its rather noisy work. After the cloud of dust has dispersed we can see how well it has done its work. This may be because it is operated by the Lilyana and Nedyalko Kirilov, young people who have not sought an easy life. One of our colleagues has already climbed into the booth regardless of the dust while the rest of us are satisfied with having seen truly unusual people!

New Labor Record!

....Two hundred meters ahead of the last machine we stopped to meet with B. Arkhangelov, the technical manager of the project, in charge of the most complex equipment. He is simply sitting on the track, which is still dark and rusty, and controls telemetrically the huge machine engaged in the most delicate operation. Electronically, the machine receives the orders for the final leveling of the tracks.

The horizon in the heat of this July morning is endless. Instead of sun, however, there is rain. It is fine, transparent but cool, leading to the next question: "What if it rains more heavily, what if it pours, what if it hails, what if there is a storm, what will happen?" Officer Georgi Karakekhayov answers simply and clearly: "Nothing. The work will go on."

We are nearing the end of our trip. The hyperdosing train is winding up this huge column of people and machines, moving with the dignity of a winner. It carries cars with fresh ballast and fills the cracks. Its work is complex, for in a strange way the machine determines where to drop ballast but in such a way as to make the road bed ideally smooth. Actually, this is the end of the operation.

The Levski railroad station appears in the distance. Soon the first train will come out of there. The time of the "window" is running short. At this point someone reports in a hurry that the norm will be overfulfilled and that instead of the planned 500 to 600 meters, the day's capital repairs will total 875 meters of track. We cannot watch the pleasure of the troops and commanders but we feel the pride in ourselves. This can be nothing other than the pride of having witnessed a new labor record!

Once again we are traveling, attacked by the summer heat. We are traveling to the Khemus highway. Before reaching it, we stop at one of the bases which supply all organizations building the new road with quarry materials. Officers Alipiev and Parapanov show us around the work areas and tell us that one-half of the investment funds have already been used and that the construction work is almost finished; the other half will be used mainly for equipment purchases.

Toward Khemus...

We quickly reach the highway. The hosts show us what remains to be built, the position of the new sections and the ready but "frozen" sections. Some two to three km outside Botevgrad we turn left and reach the Balkan mountains.

We are told that this is the most difficult sector. From this point on, through complex road installations, the mountain will be "pierced" with a tunnel near Vitinya in the direction of Yordankino.... At the point where we are the roadway will branch out in three directions leading to Sofia, Varna and Botevgrad. The "cloverleaf" is being built on three levels. Initially, the idea was to build bridges. However, a young creative collective came up with a plan which reduced construction costs by about one millior leva.

There is restlessness here. It is as if the tension has reached its peak. Machines and more machines of all kinds and sizes are in operation and their thunder is like a giant battle, a battle for conquering the mountain. Meter after meter the level of a broad area is raised, making the implementation of the big idea possible....

We take the road back to Sofia. We shall now be crossing the old tracks. After the project has been completed in the second half of the Eighth Five-Year Plan travel along this sector will take considerably less time and, most importantly, will be safer and far more pleasurable.

5003
CSO: 2200/123

COMMENTARY OF MADRID CSCE DELIBERATIONS NOTED

Warsaw GLOS PRACY in Polish 24-25-26 Apr 81 p 5

[Article by Eligiusz Lasota: "Not only Reflection"]

> [Text] Another "pause for reflection" is the expression that has been applied to the holiday period with which is associated the three-week suspension of the deliberations of the Madrid meeting of the signatories to the Helsinki CSCE Final Act. This period is to be utilized for, among other things, consultations between the delegation members and their governments so that, after the deliberations are resumed on 5 May, the editing of the final document can be expedited.

When on 11 April 1981 the delegates left Madrid for their home countries, the formulation of the final document was in a state of impasse. Certain delegates--who, however, were in a definite minority--even expressed fears that such a document would not be agreed upon after the holiday break either, and were ready to end the meeting without expressing its results in the form of any document. However, a majority of the delegations has--despite the existing difference in the positions they took, especially between the representatives of the socialist countries and the Western countries--expressed cautious optimism. They judged that attempts to define further ways of detente in Europe should not be abandoned, especially as regards complementing political detente with detente in the military domain.

Following the final session prior to the holiday break, the delegations of the United States and Soviet Union organized press conferences at which their position and that of their political allies were once more enunciated.

The American spokesman declared that, among other things, the meeting has not yet reached an agreement concerning the convening of a European conference on the military aspects of security. The United States will support the convening of such a conference if it is recommended by a "balanced" document. This means a document which will adequately reflect respect for human rights, for fundamental liberties in the field of humanitarian cooperation, and also for the free exchange of information. The United States wishes to be certain that at such a future conference agreement will be reached on confidence building measures in accordance with the criteria proposed by the Western participants at the meeting.

In practice the American position means that the Madrid Document should include--and this is to be a precondition for convening the conference--all the accusations made by the West against the USSR and other socialist countries concerning failure to observe human rights, hindering the flow of information, and so forth, etc.

Such accusations have been made repeatedly especially by the United States, during the deliberations at Madrid so far. The countries of our community have not avoided discussions and ripostes on these topics, but they have, at the same time, stressed that if the Madrid Conference is to make headway on the issues of detente, it must offer a constructive program instead of confining itself to mutual recriminations.

The solution of all problems concerning the exchange of thought and information, as well as human rights and also economic exchange, simply ensues from the decisions of the CSCE to date and is contained in the Final Act of Helsinki, which should continue to be the guideline for the shaping of mutual relations among all its signatories. These issues are contained already in the Final Act, and harping on them in a new document to be based on the premise of the development of European cooperation would mean running in place, not taking a step forward.

That is why, during the press conference given by the USSR delegation, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs L. Ilichev emphasized that he "had not heard anything" about any proposal which would aim at separating the proposed European Conference on military detente and disarmament from the CSCE process. (That is, from all the issues included in the Final Act.)

The Soviet minister called to mind once again that the USSR treats military detente and disarmament as being closely connected to the entire CSCE detente process. He also pointed out that the Western side has not yet responded to Leonid Brezhnev's proposal to broaden the zone of application of military confidence building measures to the entire area of the European part of the USSR. Ilichev expressed the hope that, following the break in the deliberations, which will be utilized as a time for reflection, the West will respond to that proposal.

Following the holiday break, the main battle in Madrid will continue to center on the issue of convening a conference on military detente and disarmament. It is a fact that the very idea of convening it [that conference] has the acceptance in principle of all 35 participants at the Madrid meeting, including also the United States. But the conditions put forward by the Western countries, which we have already mentioned, make this a continually controversial and open problem.

Poland, the USSR, and other socialist countries support the convening of a conference with such a program and in such a form--just as proposed in Madrid by the Polish delegates--in the name of all the states of our community. Speaking of that future conference, Vice Minister M. Dobrosielski stressed that it should be a forum for reaching agreement on steps which would make possible the strengthening of confidence among participating states. The conference should concern itself with coordinating political and legal-treaty steps aimed at reducing the threat of an outbreak of war in Europe and at strengthening guarantees for the security of [illegible] E States-participants as well as moves aimed at reducing the level and "density" of military confrontation on our continent. Taken into consideration here also is the limitation of military activities and reduction of armed forces and armaments.

The Polish minister also confirmed the proposal by our government on the matter of holding the first stage of such a conference in Warsaw, suggesting that its deliberations begin on 20 October 1981.

The socialist countries also submitted an entire complex of proposals in Madrid concerning the most varied directions for European cooperation. The governments of Poland and the USSR proposed the convening of a high-level conference next year devoted to energy issues. A similar proposal was made at Madrid by Austria. Mention should be also made of the proposals by socialist countries to prohibit the inclusion of school textbooks concerning history and geography among materials disseminating distrust or hostility among nations, as well as the proposal on developing youth tourism. Specific ideas for developing cooperation in the field of information in order to strengthen confidence among nations also were submitted.

Madrid can and should become a forum at which a new contribution to the development of relations between East and West will be made. For this purpose, not only is the good will of all the states necessary--[already] declared, after all--but also a striving toward compromise and a desire to prefer that which unites--in matters of security and detente--over that which continually still divides states and nations.

1386
CSO: 2600/194

VARIOUS ISSUES OF 'MYSL WOJSKOWA' REVIEWED

No 11, 1979 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 4, Apr 80 pp 63-64

[Text] Radioelectronic Warfare During Actions to Gain Control Over Large Urban Centers

In No 11, 1979, of "Mysl Wojskowa," Col [plk dypl] Stanislaw Lewandowski uses the example of the West German theater of military operations to discuss the question of radioelectronic warfare. He says that radioelectronic warfare is an integral part of each type of operation. The goal is to gain in the atmosphere an advantage which would create conditions suitable for use by friendly forces. Such warfare should be planned and organized in such a way as to make it possible to shift the effort from one direction to another. Urban land, built up with reinforced concrete, offers adverse conditions to the propagation of electromagnetic power. In addition, on the other hand, the adversary has great possibilities for hiding in such an urban center. In this situation it is possible for him to avail himself first of all of a stationary, well-protected system of line communications (telephonic and telegraphic) as well as a stationary line radiophonic network. The elements of these systems are exceptionally resistant to radioelectronic overpowering. To eliminate them it is necessary to use various sorts of fire power. Warfare with radioelectric measures located throughout regions and towns with a weaker screen of electromagnetic waves is somewhat different. Places of this type include low levels of development, parks, boulevards, and so on. In these places the conditions for radioelectronic warfare are easier, and it is in this sort of area that such warfare will largely be conducted. The undertakings of such warfare should be reviewed in their individual phases.

For example, while the armies are advancing, the main thing is to camouflage one's own radioelectronic facilities and correlate everything in this realm with direct, operative camouflage. During obstructions and offensives to control a large town, there is the detection of radioelectronic facilities and systems, air defense radioelectronic facilities are disabled, and the radioelectronic work of the radio communications and command systems are disorganized. At the same time, among our own

armies it is necessary to insure the free working of our radioelectronic facilities. The means for radioelectronic disabling should be developed most closely to the town, on the approaches to it.

Support for the Grouping of Armed Forces Over the Area of the Voivodship

Broadly-conceived defense of the territory of the country, according to Col [plk dypl] Jan Raban writing in an article with the above title, focuses many key undertakings carried out for the general purpose of preventing the enemy from operating or moving on Polish territory. One such enterprise will be to insure Warsaw Pact armies of the most rapid, coordinated access to the region of the combat operations. Basic groups of tasks can be listed in providing for such movements. One of them is keeping the armies on the move informed. An important question here is information on the situation along the path of march, about regions suitable for conducting complete special operations under stationary conditions or directly along the path of march, the possibilities for assistance in evacuating the injured, places of supply of liquid fuels, the military and civilian repair base distribution and capabilities, and water intakes.

The voivodship army staff should be the main center in the voivodship with the above-mentioned data. Civil defense bodies should also be a source of information. They can have data available on damage, contamination, and poisoning. Through instructions from the head of National Civil Defense they are required to pass on these data to the voivodship army staffs. Other sources of information might be the citizens' militia, the public roads region, the Polish State Railroads, and garrison commands. An important question is cover for the path of march, protection of transportation facilities, and antisabotage cover. In this area the Civil Defense formations and construction departments as well as the local population can play a special role.

They can be particularly helpful in reconstruction and repairs. Within the framework of planning defense undertakings (gmina civil defense plans) the transportation network should be divided up among the various villages and agricultural enterprises. In case of need, in the villages work parties can be set up which are able to make railway repairs. Civil defense formations, and technical emergency departments in particular, can be utilized to make a way through rubble. Road clearing should be directed by local civil defense bodies.

The military peace-keeping forces and citizens' militia will play the most important role in the realm of peace-keeping in areas of regrouping. The citizens' militia and the army traffic control system will handle detours in regions of biological and atomic contamination. Military, police, and civil defense forces are required to help in the reproduction of the combat capability of the regrouping affected units. The regions where the recovered armies come together cannot be arbitrary. They will be designated by the voivodship military staff, assisted by other army forces and

civil defense units. Next the author takes up the problematics of medical assistance to effected subunits, and fire and rescue operations, in which civil defense units also can and should play an important role.

Detection of Contamination on the Modern Battlefield

In his work Major Dr Michal Krauze considers the problem of the detection of contamination on the modern battlefield. Under the conditions of a possible future war chemical and radioactive contamination can exist. Usually the former encompass a smaller area. After nuclear explosions on the ground, contamination of large areas can occur. By linking the ground attacks with important natural boundaries like water obstacles, the enemy can create contamination zones which are barriers making it difficult or even impossible to carry out the tasks associated with the movement of the armies and the control of local boundaries situated further on. To ease the effects of contagion, various sorts of prophylactic measures may be employed. Among these are the preparation of the armies for operations in a contaminated region, the use of individual protection, the conduct of partial and complete special and sanitary measures, and the use of radioprotective preparations and antidotes.

The detection of the contamination is the most important undertaking. As the result of detecting the contamination it is necessary above all to establish the fact that a weapon of mass contamination has been used, the type of poisonous agent, the areas of chemical or radioactive contamination, the boundaries of the effected area and the way of circumventing it, and changes in the contamination situation with the passage of time. The detection should be continuous, a feat which may be achieved through a uniform, cohesive system, being outfitted with detection equipment which is modern and reliable for the detection of chemical and radioactive contamination, careful training of soldiers in the realm of carrying out tasks under conditions of radioactive and chemical contamination, organization of joint efforts within the framework of the system of contamination detection, accurate planning of the use of components of the system for detecting contamination, taking into account an assessment of the threat of attacks of weapons of mass destruction and the consequences of their use.

The basic role in the system of detecting contamination is played by the specialized army chemical subunits.

The detection may be performed in motion or may consist of so-called circulating observation. In the problematics of detecting contamination, it is especially important to be able to perform remote detection of contamination of the atmosphere under various conditions, which, for example, would make it possible to insure constant detection over a far larger area.

Equipment for the remote detection of contamination has greatly improved the process of sounding the alarm and notification concerning contamination.

To maintain continuous detection it is especially important that it be done skillfully, that private means of protection be used, and that proper procedures be followed in the contaminated area.

The need to insure continuous detection of contamination in combat operations follows from the danger that weapons of mass attack will be used against armies. It is possible to maintain continuous detection of contamination through the systematic organization of this process and its being outfitted with functional detection equipment for its components. Continuous detection of contamination may be assured through the maintenance of a multilayered, universal detection system.

Efforts should be made in the direction of outfitting specialized subunits for detecting contamination with modern equipment for the remote detection of atmospheric contamination.

No 3, 1980 Issue

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 9, Sep 80 p 47

[Text] Picture of the Battlefield of the Future

Nobody knows for certain whether a future war will get to the point where weapons of mass destruction will be used, or, if so, in what way or what the consequences will be. About one thing there can be no doubt: in the event such a weapon is used, the picture of the battlefield will be completely different from the past.

Writing in their article "Deliberations on the Subject of the Picture of the Battlefield of the Future," published in No 3, 1980 of "Myśl Wojskowa", Col Dr Antoni Kowalski and Magister dyplomowany Jacek Pawlowski formulate just this conclusion, which is after all quite obvious, but the thing is not just this conclusion but the very interesting material before it too. The authors present various aspects of changes in modern weaponry, the availability of nuclear weapons, the continual search for new weapons (and in this connnection the progressive reduction of the "life cycle," or, to put it another way, the period of use of the new weapons systems.) Nuclear potential is no longer the sole threat, because now there is the neutron bomb, and attention must also be given to work on the laser "death rays."

Neutron radiation cannot be stopped by any shield except water. Eighty percent of the bomb's energy consists of streams of neutrons. The explosion of a neutron bomb with a nuclear charge of 1 kiloton will burn

a circle of earth several dozen meters in area. Life will be wiped out over an area of 1.5 square kilometers. Buildings and other installations will remain intact. As for research on the laser weapon, this work is being done to protect a given country from retaliatory nuclear attack. Military strategists are of the opinion that this will be possible by intercepting the enemy's rockets, but the speed of the antirockets are not adequate. Therefore, there was the idea of lasers. Laser rays, which have the speed of light, would be able to combat rockets flying at a speed of 12,000 meters per second.

The introduction of new weapons brings about changes in tactics, but this subject is very controversial. There are many views on the way to wage a battle, and they often conflict. For example, it is stated that the use of a nuclear weapon makes it easier to conduct combat operations, that it accelerates the rate of contact. At the same time, no less popular is the view that the use of a nuclear weapon can completely paralyze combat operations.

Even if no nuclear weapon is used in the future in warfare, according to the article the sides engaged in combat will still have access to firepower of great range and accuracy. In addition, modern detection equipment can detect even the best camouflaged objects. Under such conditions the speed of reaction will become a decisive factor concerning the outcome of the battle.

Our readers are certain to be interested in Antoni Kowalski and Jacek Pawlowski's reflections on the subject of the hypothetical picture of future warfare and the direction of changes on the modern battlefield.

Unspecified Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Mar 81 p 5

[Text] The dynamic quantitative and qualitative rise in the air forces of land armies and their favorable impact on these armies creates the need to define the optimal forms of their joint use. In all armies there are various concepts for using this aviation arm, which makes possible the effective realization of the vital needs of the land armies.

One of the forms of joint combat operations of land armies and the air force of the land army is the assignment of elements of ground-air strike groups commanded by a combined-armies commander, the groups being taken as separate forces and means temporarily comprising a ground and air organizational structure for the purpose of carrying out joint combat tasks.

The most recent issue of "Mysl Wojskowa" devotes one of its publications to these problems of strike groups considered in this way. I encourage readers to familiarize themselves with its content, despite the fact that

the author's deliberations and proposals are controversial. After all this is still justified by the innovative nature of this grouping component, because although among those interested in this problem there is the predominant view in nearly all armies that it is worthwhile to create such groups, on the other hand opinions vary concerning the composition, goals, and principles of their operation. Major dyplomowany W. Michalak attempts to find an answer to some of these doubts "Concerning the Use of Aviation in Ground-Air Strike Groups."

In the attack, aviation in coordinated action with ground echelons can carry out many fire, reconnaissance, transport, and specialized tasks. Among them a special role is played by fire tasks which are carried out by combat aviation and assault helicopters.

After breaking down the defense and during the waging of the attack into the heart of the enemy's defenses, combat aviation and assault helicopters can support the ground echelon, paralyzing the newly detected centers of fire and reserves, particularly on the boundaries of the development of a counterattack. In addition, together they can protect and hide the landing of infantry by paralyzing and destroying the air defense measures on a flight down a road and in the region where the landing is to take place. Then they can support the combat operations of the assault landing force.

In a meeting engagement, when there are limited possibilities for the development and utilization of the firepower of the ground echelon, aviation can be used to land and support the operations of a tactical landing force controlling convenient regional boundaries and crossing water barriers. It can also hamper the development of major forces and reserves of the enemy, delay the movement of columns moving along sensitive ground points, and disorganize the maneuvering of his armies. The combat operations of airplanes and helicopters are directly related to the conditions under which the meeting engagement is conducted, and their tasks will coincide with the operations of the ground echelon.

In pursuit the need for fire support and assistance from aviation will usually be very great. This is because of the imbalance between the rapid speed of the movement of the armies and the possibilities for support in the form of the artillery's firepower. Reconnaissance planes will focus their efforts on tracking the enemy's retreating armies and the sapper development of a new line of defense. Along with assault helicopters, combat planes will hamper the enemy's organized withdrawal.

In defense operations, aviation detects and delays the enemy's oncoming armies. At the moment of contact, assault helicopters will damage tanks and armored vehicles in the area of the breakthrough. Transport helicopters can participate in mining areas in directions threatened by enemy tanks and thereby create conditions favorable for their destruction by assault helicopters.

The next part of the article is devoted to a discussion of the principles of operation and coordinated action between the air echelon and the ground strike groups.

Besides this, in the above-mentioned issue of "Mysl Wojskowa" one can find a rich assortment of various tactical subjects. Among them, for example, are the following articles: "Properties of the Organization of Night Combat Operations, Especially Combined Operations" (Major dyplomowany E. Gwozdz); "The Organization of Tactical Operations Combined With Aviation" (Col Dr S. Piotrowski and Major dyplomowany W. Michalak); "Reflects on the Subject of Giving Attention to the Undertakings of Radioelectronic Warfare in Command Decisions and Intentions" (Col Dyplomowany S. Lewandowski); "The Influence of Centralized Command on the Effectiveness of the Operation of the Air Defense System" (Major Dr Engineer E. Kolodzinski and Cpt Magister Engineer T. Pietkiewicz); "Mines and Detonators Used in Remote Mining" (Col Rez Docent Magister Engineer K. Dorenda and Col Magister T. Wianecki); "Marine Reconnaissance of Certain NATO Countries" (Cmdr Lt Dyplomowany T. Marszalek); "On the Use of Poisonous Substances in the Vietnam War" (Lt Col Dr Engineer J. Nowak), and "The Development of National and Internationalistic Content in the Military Doctrine and Science of Socialist Countries" (Lt Col Dr J. Kunikowski).

In the "Organization and Information Science" section, Cmdr Lt Navig K. Gawron brings up an interesting problem which is current. The only trouble is that its form is so narrow and pertains more to the effects (not the causes). The title of the article is "An Assessment of the Course of Correspondence as an Element in the Struggle Against Bureaucracy in the Army."

In the "Economics" section, we find the following subjects: "The Disciplinary-Monitoring Function of Standards in the Military Economy" (Lt Col Dr W. Ciesielski); "Controlling the Quality of Military Technical Manufacturing and Operation" (Lt Col Docent Dr Habilitowany Engineer H. Sajecki); "Some Problems of the Measurability and Assessment of Scientific Research" (Col w st sp Dr W. Zalewski).

No 3, 1981 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 1 Apr 81 p 3

[Text] The combined-arms section of the March issue of "Mysl Wojskowa" is devoted largely to the methods and forms of action of staffs and armies under various forms of combat under contemporary conditions.

Col dyplomowany T. Galeski writes about "Methods for Preparing Calculations for Marches During the Planning of the Regrouping of ZT Armies." The method proposed by the author uses an electronic data processing program and makes it possible to obtain the necessary computations relatively quickly, but the collection and preparation of all the data needed will require a considerable period of time. So too the functions related to the execution of the basic march calculations should be simple, and the results obtained should be quite accurate and prepared in time. The experience gathered in this respect shows that essential march calculations which are rather accurate can be obtained by using a simplified calculation method. It consists of the application of rather uncomplicated mathematical models.

Major dyplomowany W. Lodziana takes up "The Influence of Nighttime on the Organization and Conduct of the Attack." Because the attack is carried out at night, it is a tremendously difficult undertaking, and its planning as a component of continuous operations should take place in the course of daytime combat. Here consideration should be given to the following specific requirements: the need for appropriate independence on the part of the units operating in the first echelon, the command decentralization necessary in a given situation, the need to narrow the zones of attack and avoid tasks which are overly involved, effective action aimed at the heart of the enemy's defenses, extension of the time of operation of the armies of the first echelon and appropriateness of simplifying the maneuvers, assurance of conditions for building up the thrust before daylight, the provision for adequate forces and means to withstand the enemy's counterattack, the organization of lighting, and provision for marking the battlefield and blinding the enemy.

Col pilot dyplomowany J. Caputa presents "Ways to Use the Aircraft of Land Armies." The fire tasks of these aircraft are basically carried out by combat helicopters.

In the "Organization and Information Science" section, I should like to encourage readers to familiarize themselves with the article by Doc Dr habilitowany Engineer C. Ciaston, entitled "Some Pathological Phenomena in Organization." The item is very interesting and is good background for reflection, although it is a pity that the author, who after all is well acquainted with the military environment and its problems has focused his work on the theoretical without translating the content into the concrete conditions of the army, because such work would have greatly enhanced the item's usefulness.

The current which runs throughout the "Economics" section of this issue is effectiveness. I will call these two articles especially to your attention. The first is by Lt Col Docent Dr habilitowany Engineer H. Sojecki: "The Effectiveness of an Analysis of Values in the Armed Forces." In it the author shares the results of several investigations conducted recently on the subject of the use of analysis of values. The solutions obtained through the research, in his opinion, should be inculcated right away.

The second article is by Col (Ret) Dr W. Zaleski and is entitled "An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Research in Qualifying Proceedings and the Selection of Scientific Undertakings With a Full Cycle of Development." The author begins with the assumption that at present technical-economic analysis and assessment of the effectiveness of future research is the weakest part of the procedure of qualification and selection of subjects for the research and development plan, and he presents proposals to adopt a relatively simple model for conducting such analyses.

Another article in keeping with the main theme is an article by Col Dr Engineer T. Lojka: "On the Methods of Retrospective Assessment of Scientific Research in the Army."

Other items in this section are devoted to problems which are presently very sensitive ones in our country, questions of energy and power. Dr J. Krzyzanowski writes about "Small-Scale Power Engineering for Emergency Defense Needs," and Col Magister U. Staniszewski has an article on "The Principles of Energy and Their Utilization."

I should also like to call attention to an article of very current interest by Col Dyplomowany Magister Z. Golaba published in the "Military History" section. It is entitled "Electronic War in Local Wars." The author analyzes the course of operations during the wars in Korea, Vietnam, and the Near East and draws conclusions from them.

No 5, 1981 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 3 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Recent events in the country, especially the severe economic crisis we have been going through, bring home economic problems not only to specialists professionally engaged in these questions but also all those engaged in any sort of managerial or leadership function. They cannot be uninformed on subjects like economic theory, economic analysis, value analysis, cost-effect analysis, and so on, because the rational management of any organizational unit is impossible without a knowledge of the basic economic laws and principles. In all its implications this statement applies to the army as well.

In connection with the above I should like to call attention to an article by Col Docent Dr Habilitowany T. Kaminski published in the economics section of the May issue of "Mysl Wojskowa." It is entitled "Economic Analysis in the Operations of Economic Departments."

After discussing the purpose of economic analysis in military units and the types of such analysis, the author describes the features of proper analysis, including concreteness, objectivity, comprehensiveness, timeliness, and suitability.

Concreteness consists of making the scope of the analysis coincide exactly with the purpose of the research being conducted. Therefore, each time the purpose of the analytical research must be specified very precisely, because knowing the purpose makes it possible to establish the proper scope of the analysis to insure that it is as complete and beneficial as possible.

The principle of objectivisim of its very essence requires a straighforward examination of the facts being investigated. Here it is important at the same time that an equally honest assessment be made of both the negative and positive facts. This is particularly important for an economic department, because what is under investigation involves very complicated processes which are accompanied by favorable and adverse phenomena. Extracting them and making a proper analysis insure that proper use will be made of the information provided by the economic analysis.

In analysis complexity should apply to all the spheres of its application, (from the macro scale, the army economy, to the micro scale, the economic department). In conducting an analysis of certain operations or processes, it is necessary to remember their relationships to the surrounding environment and the possibility of influencing that environment. If the interrelationships are great and can influence the course of the processes, they should be examined. Failure to do this keeps the results of the analysis from protraying the objective state of affairs. In research complexity is indispensable for undertaking rationalizing actions, for seeking untapped reserves in all stages of training, economic process, and so on.

Timeliness is an unusual virtue in analytical investigations but especially in economic analysis. The information gained as the result of analysis should be helpful in making decisions to undertake action to improve an existing situation. Therefore it must be supplied to management or the command by a given time.

The suitability of the results of the analysis is directly related to the previous principle, but it is worthwhile to point out that suitability is related to the usefulness of the information. In order for the information to be useful, it must be concrete and usable under the given circumstances.

Against the backdrop of the principles to which the economic analysis should correspond, there is the problem of the essential source information needed to conduct the analysis, information which should be recorded in the economic departments. Most necessary to economic analysis is cost information, but this information is not fully recorded in the departments, and this fact makes it difficult to conduct analyses.

Economic analysis in the economic department should represent an essential component of annual analyses of training, management, and the general over-

all shape of the economic department's activity. Only then can it serve its purpose and contribute to more rational management.

This section is filled out with articles by Lt Col Magister B. Jedlinski, "Economics of Defense and Economic Upbringing -- Today," and by Col Magister Engineer E. Marszalkowski, "Modernization-Investment Policy in Military Construction."

In the general military section, each reader can find a problem of interest to him. This section contains the following papers: "Program of Peace -- Yesterday and Today" by Col Dyplomowany E. Wojcik, "Properties of the Conduct of Combat Operations at Night in Forest or Mountainous Terrain" by Col Dr A. Kowalski, "Some Comments on Warding Off Counterattacks by Enemy Reserves" by Major Dyplomowany T. Bogusz, "The Creative Work of the Commander" by Col Dr R. Urlinski, "Some Aspects of Centralization and Decentralization in the Command of Land Forces Antiaircraft Defense" by Col Docent Dr T. Mirowski, "Elimination of the Effects of the Enemy's Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Recreation of the Armies' Combat Capabilities" by Lt Col Dr Engineer J. Pieta, "Scattered [narzutowe] Mining" by Major Dr Engineer J. Garstka, and "Electronic War in Western Countries' Navies" by Com Lt Magister Engineer K. Jakubowski.

There are three items in the Organization and Information Sciences section worth noting: "Decentralization -- Rights, Responsibilities, and Duties" by Doc Dr Habilitowany Engineer S. Gastonie, "Assessment of the Effectiveness of the Course of Carrying out Research and Design and Inculcation Projects in Information Science Bodies" by Cpt Magister Engineer M. Gnilka, and "Methods for Assessing the Utilization Parameters of Multiaccess Systems" by Lit Magister Engineer Z. Hrynkiewicz, Major Magister Engineer E. Kasprzak, and Major Dr Engineer M. Suskiewicz.

In addition, in the military history section we note an article by Lt Col Dr H. Herman about "The Alliance of Nations in the Fight Against Fascism During the Years of the Second World War," and in the section entitled "From Brother Armies" we can find summaries of articles by Lt Cand W. J. Slipczenki ("Development of the American System of Warnings of Nuclear Rocket Attack"), by Cmdr Lt H. Engelmann ("Operational Regime in the Marine Theater of Combat Operations"), and by Lt Engineer S. Nanasa ("The Technical-Material Provision for Training").

No 6, 1981 Issue

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 29 Jun 81 p 4

[Text] Organization of One's Own Work

In undertaking each effort, intention, or task and in describing precisely the related goals, we should strive for rational, thrifty, disciplined implementation. It is a question of not dispersing efforts but focusing attention on necessary actions and achieving the best results

using the simplest methods. This is a scientifically proved view, which demonstrates the need for conscious organization of personal work and life.

This implies that in taking care of great problems and whole systems we should begin with ourselves, with a critical in-depth analysis and improvement of our own work, because practice shows that people in identical operations achieve different results. With some people, work is rhythmic and somehow "burns in their hands," while with others, despite good intentions, it is difficult for anything to get done. What are the causes, and what can be done about this?

In is June issue (6/1981), "Mysl Wojskowa" devotes one of the articles in the Organization and Information Science section to the problems of rational organization of personal work. The article, written by Reserve Col Z. Uszynski, is entitled "Selected Views of Rational Organization of One's Own Work."

At the outset the author presents the major causes which he believes to be behind inefficiency in one's own work.

The following are included among the most significant interior sources of inefficiency:

Sense of excessive personal responsibility in place of a logical division into responsibility and joint responsibility,

Lack of skill or desire to take advantage of professional advice and assistance of specialists and coworkers,

Overestimation and demonstration of one's own expertise (acceptance of jobs which are too difficult, those which exceed one's skill and knowledge),

The desire to take care of everything personally, going beyond the scope of one's jurisdiction, and the conviction that one knows everything better than anyone else.

The author lists the following external sources of inefficiency:

Imbalances between responsibilities and privileges (excessive responsibilities and insufficient authority for independent action) in the manner of operation,

Over-formalization of behavior and lack of necessary freedom,

Working style of superior (excessive centralization of decisionmaking),

Unplanned activity of superior and supervising institutions,

Too many centers of jurisdiction and excessive supervision.

After discussion the major causes the author goes on to certain sugggestions and proposals concerning preventive measures, among which are the following:

1. Proper organization of the work station. Here it is mainly a question of insuring logical consistency among the basic elements, that is, tasks, responsibilities, privileges, and duties.

2. Providing for operations in organizing one's own work. Here attention should be given to see that the group of tasks and undertakings performed are categorized as certain, expected, and unexpected. The first group consists of those tasks about which it is certain absolutely that they must occur in a given time and place. The second group contains those which are quite likely to exist. On the other hand, the third group is composed of all those which cannot be foreseen at all. Therefore, skill in predicting or successfully associating the signs and determining future actions are the basis for rational organization of work.

3. Rhythmic flow in one's own work. This is related to the repetitiveness of actions, that is, of those which are carried out at the same, fixed, regular time intervals. Under army conditions there are a relatively large number of repetitive tasks, but some depend on the preferences of certain persons and others do not. This means that the repetitiveness of the actions may be set in one's own area or imposed by higher echelons.

4. Motivation of one's own work. In summarizing the author's idea, we can say that the motivation of one's own work boils down to inspiring oneself to identify one's own interests with the purposes of the tasks being performed, of developing the proper attitude to the work in keeping with social expectations, and thereby deriving suitable satisfaction from the job.

In the second part of the article the author presents the basic methods and techniques for rational organization of one's own job with special emphasis on the planning, organization, and self-monitoring of one's own work.

In the same section is an article by Cpt Magister Engineer A. Stachny entitled "Problems of Estimating the Costs of Production and the Dimensions of Programming for SI."

Among the articles to be found in the general military section are the following: "Military Advantage the Basis of U.S. Foreign Policy" by Col Dyplomowany B. Kolodziejczak, "Shifting the General Military Tactical Union From Offense to Defense in Order to Repulse the Attack of Superior Enemy Forces" by Col Dyplomowany Retired Z. Wontrucki, "Conditions and Properties of Antiaircraft Defense of a Tactical Force Shifting from Offense to Defense" by Major Dyplomowany J. Glowacki, "Reconnaissance-Fire Groups" by Col Dr R. Urlinski, "Effects of Nighttime Conditions on the Operations of

Air Assault Forces and the System of Antiaircraft Defense" by Cpt Dyplomowany Engineer B. Zdrodowsks, and "Selected Theoretical Aspects of Diagnosis in the Realm of the Functioning of Spacial Structures of the Armed Forces" by Col Dr Z. Mondrzycki.

In the Economics section I should like to draw attention to an article which corresponds to a paper presented at the outset in greater detail: "The Improvement of the Organization of Office Staff Work Positions and the Processes of Military Training -- A Source of Economic Effectiveness" by Lt Col Docent Dr Habilitowany Engineer H. Sajecki, who presents the way in which staff offce work and training can be improved by using the values analysis method.

In the military history section, Col Retired Docent Dr Z. Stapor commemorates the 40th anniversary this July in his article "Armed Aggression of Fascist Germany Against the Soviet Union."

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REVIEW OF B. LEWANDOWSKI'S BOOK ON U.S. RADIO PROPAGANDA NOTED

Warsaw SPRAWY MIEDZYNARODOWE in Polish No 3, Mar 81 (signed to press May 1981) p 150

[Review by (a.z.) of book "Propaganda radiowa USA. Zastosowanie radia w propagandzie na kraje socjalistyczne" [U.S. Radio Propaganda. Use of Radio in Propaganda Against the Socialist Countries] by Bogdan Lewandowski, Panstwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe [PWN], Warsaw 1981, 279 pages]

[Text] Differentiating between ideological struggle and ideological aggression, the author writes that the former pertains to actions which affirm an ideology or a political system presenting the values of a specific style of life and justifying domestic and foreign policy of states. The socialist states conduct ideological struggle in this manner, as well as to a great degree, France. Ideological aggression, on the other hand, consists of organizing actions levelled at the internal affairs of other states aimed at maintaining or overthrowing the political system of a given state. In the first case, such activity pertains to those capitalist states where a potential exists for taking over of authority by the workers' class. The second case finds application in socialist states.

The main subject of ideological aggression is the United States, and the means for implementation are mass media, primarily radio. The author described the fundamental propaganda apparatus of the U.S., its history, aims, structure, sources, program, and methods (Voice of America, Radio in the American Sector, and others) as well as the special radio apparatus (Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty) and then analyzed their programs on the subjects of anti-communism, anti-Sovietism, nationalism, and radio as an instrument for justifying American policy (Vietnamese conflicts, Middle East conflicts, disarmament, etc.).

CSO: 2600/312

CALL FOR INCREASED ATTENTION TO WORKERS' COMPLAINTS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Jun 81 pp 7-10

[Unattributed article]

[Text] The continued development of socialist democracy, one of the basic goals of our party, particularly since the 9th party congress has recorded higher and higher heights with deep social-political importance. Actually, established through the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, socialist democracy insures the unlimited participation of the workers in the leadership act and in the creative and revolutionary implementation of the party's policy in all areas. An expression of the broad rights which the working masses have and of their freedom of opinions and action, socialist democracy, at the same time, is the more fertile framework of the uninterrupted improvement in social relations, being one of the important means for strengthening and deepening of indestructible ties between the party and the people and for raising all activity to new levels of efficiency.

An eloquent argument for the broad opportunities which the workers have to participate directly in solving some of the most varied problems in a deeply democratic spirit is also the activity of resolving proposals, complaints and requests which they make. An entire system and an institutional framework for carrying out this activity have been created and important documents have been worked out, ones which specify the tasks and the factors required to fulfill them. In their spirit and the spirit of the indications expressed by the party's secretary general, who is constantly concerned with increasing the workers' contribution to improving the leadership and organization of our socialist society and with utilizing their revolutionary combativeness, experience and ability, the direct responsibility for the specific leadership of all the activity of examining and resolving the proposals, complaints and requests of the citizens has been entrusted to the first secretaries of the county, municipal and city party committees, to the secretaries of party organizations, ministries, and leaders of enterprises, institutes and public organizations.

A New Quality in Resolving the Letters, Problems Raised in Hearings

As a result of the concerns with insuring an optimum framework for resolving the proposals, complaints and requests of the workers and deeper involvement of the factors in resolving the problems raised, a more and more striking improvement has been found in the activity specific to this area, naturally bringing an increase in the masses' faith in the party and in the organs called on to resolve the letters and problems presented in hearings. Actually it is a question of establishing a new, superior

quality in this area, too, which is closely connected with the increase in the concern and responsibility of the party organs and organizations toward the people and the receptivity and interest they show for the situations which appear in their life and work and for the proposals coming from them. The workers' problems in more and more cases are being solved during the incipient phase,in the spirit of the provisions of party and state laws and decisions, below--in the units and communes--while the conclusions resulting from checks on the letters and complaints are being generalizedto a greater and greater extent and carried out in decisions of broader interest, through the application of which not only the resolution of similar situations is insured but, implicitly prevention of others' appearing.

For example, if we analyze the letters, complaints and hearings through the prism of their content, as Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized at the RCP Central Committee Plenum of 25 March 1981, they are more and more strikingly a form for the participation of the popular masses in exercising control and in resolving various problems in our activity. A very large portion of these letters, complaints and proposals refer to the general flow of life and work, to production, to the way that various enterprises and institutions are headed or to the way in which the communists and leadership cadres work, which clearly shows the masses' concern with carrying out activity appropriately, reflecting the uninterrupted development of a civic spirit and the people's wish to be deeply involved in the process of our continuous improvement. Thus, if we refer to the proposals and complaints from 1980 and the first months of 1981 regarding social-economic activity, we see that, on the average, nearly 65 percent of them proved useful and well-founded and of real use for improving work in the industrial and agricultural units, in construction, transport, health protection and other sectors. For example, in industry the criticism to a large extent proved to be substantiated which aimed at the failure to use certain machinery and equipment at their capacity, the failure of steady supply to the jobs, the irrational use of the stock of working time,acts of indiscipline and disorder, insufficient concern with using recoverable materials, delaying the introduction of new technologies, inventions and innovations into production, the waste of fuel, energy, raw materials, the fictitious reporting of fulfillment of certain plan indicators, the lack of exactingness and responsibility, the professional and organizational incompetence of certain cadres in the units.

In this context, what is strikingly coming out as vigorous assertion of worker opinion is the concern of the party organs and organizations and various forums in the economy and state administration with using the conclusions and measures resulting from the letters and hearings as a means for improving leadership in all areas and sectors. In this regard, the leap produced in the activity of more and more party organs and organizations is eloquent,places where , on the basis of the conclusions resulting from on-the-spot checks of the letters and problems presented in the hearings, they are organizing prompt intervention and taking measures to generalize positive experience and initiatives worthy of interest, at the same time taking action to hurry and eliminate the shortcomings which made the workers address various forums. However, it should be said that there still are some party organizations which do not utilize the letters and hearings to the proper extent as a means of becoming informed and of political analysis and they do not give enough attention to this aspect of their own work. We still encounter situations where intervention is not made effectively to the critical signals with a view to solving the problems on the spot and enough action is not taken to promote the collective methods of work and leadership and communist discipline and responsibility, while in some organizations, particularly the agricultural production cooperatives, there even is a certain passiveness toward disorder, which means the workers continue to ask the aid of the higher party organs. That is why

there is a stringent need for adopting some decisive measures in these cases and for improving their own style and methods of work in all the party organs and organizations with a view to the insistent use of letters and hearings as an efficient tool, as a support of information on the real states of affairs, as a source of new ideas and solutions in social-economic activity.

The rise in letters and hearings for 1980 and the first quarter of 1981 is capable of making graphic arguments to aid the new quality recorded in general in this area. For example, during 1980, around a 27-percent reduction in complaints about shortcomings in areas such as agriculture, communal management and so forth was found compared with 1975, with this being explained mainly by the increase in measures taken during the five-year plan years to improve the situation in these particular sectors. Among other examples, also significant is the nearly 30-percent reduction in the number of requests for pensions, particularly as a result of resolving the situations with much greater efficiency by the very organs entrusted with them and broader popularization of the legal regulations on giving pensions.

At the level of the first quarter of 1981, the activity for resolving the workers letters and problems raised with the party leadership in hearings brings out an emphasis on reducing their number. Compared with the situation existing during the first quarter of 1980, significant reductions were recorded in areas such as health protection and social aid (by 48 percent), internal party and mass organization life (by 38.2 percent), transport and telecommunications (by 19.4 percent), industry, design, innovations (by 12 percent) and so forth.

Actually, it is a question of a general phenomenon which shows convincingly the qualitative aspects of the work with letters and hearings. Its source lies in the party leadership's consistent concern with having the party organs and organizations and the state and public organs insure competent, principled and effective solutions to the proposals, complaints and requests of the workers.Hali-yearly analysis by the Political Executive Committee and quarterly analysis by the Central Committee Secretariat of the activity of resolving the letters sent to the party leadership, the annual discussion at the RCP Central Committee plenum of the report on work with letters and hearings and the personal example of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in solving the workers' problems of work and life day by day , at all levels, have enlivened the activity in this area and sustantially improved it.

An Important Means for Maintaining and Strengthening the Ties With the Masses

In his speech at the 25 March 1981 RCP Central Committee Plenum, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that, along with faith in the party and the state organs hich the citizens have addressed themselves for the resolution of various problems, the existence of a large number of letters and complaints, at the same time, reflects a certain criticism being made of our party organs, our activity in general, and state organs, stressing that "if activity took place appropirately everywhere, there would no longer be a need for citizens to send letters and complaints." "For that reason," the party's secretary general continued, "we must draw the conclusion that we have to improve all our activity; in our daily work we should discuss directly the problems with the working masses, solve them on the spot, because it is better to do this right there rather than to wait to receive letters and then send people out to solve these problems."

The striking result is that the letters, proposals and complaints must be understood as ways to strengthen ties with the people and as means of having a dialogue, of actively cooperating with them to improve certain situations and eliminate some

shortcomings. In light of the criticism made by the party's secretary general, we must gain a new quality in this area , too, and continually improve ties with the masses. Of course, important steps have been made in this direction. Recently, the method has been extended to many counties of hearing citizens in the localities where they reside and at their jobs by the leadership cadres of the counties and municipalities. Also, the responsibility of the working collectives has been involved to a growing extent by discussions of the conclusions resulting from checks on certain states of affairs in the collectives and more and more frequently collectives coordinated by the leadership cadres are being organized with the right to make decisions directly on the spot when complaints are investigated which are of a more special content.

Understanding and using letters as a means of a link with the masses, at the same time, mean the existence of a lively dialogue with them and the requirements to answer any complaints and any signals coming from the workers. From year to year we find a rise in concern with resolving them within legal terms. For example, in 1980 the majority of counties achieved high percentages of solving letters on time compared with the preceding year. But, while the percentage rose from 83 to 98 percent in Iasi County, for example, and from 80 to 90 percent in Arges County, the percentage was lower than in 1979 in Vaslui, Vilcea, Teleorman, Dolj and Bihor. A unsatisfactory situation in effectiveness still persists at the Ministry of Machine Construction Industry and the Council for Socialist Culture and Education, which resolved only 66 and 72 percent, respectively, of the letters they received on time. Other times it happens that they are investigated superficially, in a hurry, without taking into account too much the person or persons behind the signature, or they are sent to be solved from above below, from step to step , with the particular factors declining their responsibility in an unpermissible way.

That is why we must curb such practices without delay wherever they are being demonstrated, we must strengthen control and responsibility in this area, too, and we must designate the most competent people, cadres invested with decision-making power in the leadership act for the activity with letters and hearing people who look after the proposals, complaints and requests of the workers in all seriousness. With the same goal, it is necessary to increase combativeness, to eliminate formalism, bureaucratic demonstrations and other shortcomings in the work with letters and hearings and to have complete respect for the laws, standards of socialist ethics and equity. In the base units and in the activity of the leadership cadres in enterprises and institutions--particularly in services which work with the public--more receptivity is required toward the proposals, complaints and requests presented to them, and they should be resolved with care and understanding , the direct effect of which would be to have a natural reduction in the number of citizens addressing the higher organs. Also, knowing that the party organizations, administrative leaders, trade union and UTC organizations in some enterprises and institutions as well as in some communes are not concerned enough with the people's personal problems by many times acting indifferent, we must insist on eliminating these shortcomings and discuss with citizens, have the workers commissions for letters and hearings in the party organization bureaus or committees be guided and checked appropriately.

At the same time, the workers' spirit of responsibility and combativeness must continually increase, and mass opinion should develop with a view to preventing deviations, and actions must be taken to have good knowledge of the laws and decisions and these are conditions of primary importance for gaining a superior quality for the activity in this area. Also necessary is intensification of concernwith creating the most

favorable possible atmosphere in all base units and organizations for utilizing the people's opinions so that they raise problems which can and should be solved then and there with more courage, on the spot. The optimum and responsible solution to the aspects of general interest together with the citizens contributes to deepening socialist democracy, to strengthening the tie of the party and the state with the masses, to mobilizing the workers to a higher degree to fulfill the party's decisions and raise our socialist society to new steps of progress and well being.

8071
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PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS YOUTH EXAMINED

Bucharest SCINTEIA TINERETULUI in Romanian 27 Jul 81 p 2

[Interview with Mircea Boharu, secretary ot the Dimbovita County UTC Committee, by Serban Cionof]

[Text] [Question] Continuing our series of material in which we present the concerns of the UTC organs and organization in the complex process of the formation and affirmation of the youth's scientific materialist convictions, today our speaker is Comrade Mircea Boharu, secretary of the Dimbovita County UTC Committee,and Dimbovita is a county where positive experience has been accumulated in this direction.

For a start I would like to ask you to present several of the particular features of the religious phenomenon in Dimbovita County, of course, with a specific emphasis on the penetration and persistence of mysticism among the youth.

[Answer] First I would like to state that in our county the religious phenomenon has not had extreme forms of obscurantism or fanaticism. And this does not mean that we are not giving it the proper attention. So, I would say that it gives a certain specific nature to this activity in our county which consists not merely in combatting but, primarily, in preventing the particular phenomenon. With the aid of Prof Rozalia Ionicioiu of No 1 Industrial Secondary School in Tirgoviste and under the guidance of the county's UTC committee, we established a team formed of pupils which proposes to have a multidisciplinary treatment of the religious phenomenon among the youth. Specific investigations already have been made in the field, in communes such as Razvad, Gura Sutii, Produlesti, Vacaresti and others, investigations which have resulted in useful conclusions for our future activity.

[Question] Please give a concise presentation of several of these conclusions to inform our readers.

[Answer] A first conclusion is that the religious phenomenon persists particularly among the village youth through tradition, we might say; the parents or grandparents attend church and the youth follow them. The main thing, however, is not only if a young person goes to church but, rather, what he gets out of it and the way in which what he has learned during the cult practices is confronted with the knowledge obtained in school and UTC organization activities and, in the end, exactly which ideas have the most powerful force of conviction. The fact that some religious themes find an audience among the youth also depends on the particular mental structure of each young person separately and their cultural baggage and desire to know as much as possible or a certain apathy, a "reserve" toward the effort at knowledge and self-clarification.

I have dwelled on the rural areas precisely because the majority of young people attending vocational schools or who are becoming qualified directly in production come right from there, speaking at the county level. But we have observed that, having reached the big industrial platforms, spread out not only in economic share but also from the viewpoint of the worker personnel, the youth with such tendencies are lost sight of easily, are lost in the mass of the collective and are harder to discover so that the UTC organizations can do some work of regular advice with them, man to man.

[Question] Since you referred to this work of man to man, I admit that from the information we have available up until now, we can conclude that it still is not enough and also used inefficiently in the direction of the scientific materialist education of the youth. The same thing cannot be said for the activity of proselytism carried out by the cults and sects, some even outside the law. So, how do you view the concrete possibility of using this means of knowledge and education, of work man to man available to our organizations more efficiently?

[Answer] Given the fact that we are to launch individual discussions in the UTC organizations in the coming period, I have indicated to the UTC committees in the big economic units to also follow up on this aspect, ones such as in the combine for special steels, SARO, Romlux, the Oil Equipment Enterprises, all in Tirgoviste Municipality, in the assembly construction enterprise, in the Moreni extraction field, just to give several examples. Of course, seeking to find the reasons and causes. We intend to concentrate our attention more systematically on the dormitories for young people, where, by the nature of the work, there is the opportunity to have the proselytising phenomenon be demonstrated more intensely. For this purpose we will use the group of lecturers from the UTC county committee with a view to diversifying the actions of scientific materialist education, proceeding from the exact knowledge of the level of preparation, the cultural horizons of the young people. In the villages, of course in the period in which agricultural work permits a broader flow of political-educational actions, we will send collectives of specialist young people to meet with youths on subjects of dialectical and scientific materialist education but only after we have already have an exact representation of the religious phenomenon and the tendencies and forms of demonstration but, in particular, the cults which predominate from one case to another. Because, let us admit it, if we wish to obtain the anticipated efficiency in the activity of scientific materialist education as an integral part of the political-ideological work of forming the new man, we must proceed from the premise that we need a differential approach, by subject, to the problems of religion and religiousness, being much more concerned with an investigation of the psychological particular features of the youth.

[Question] This spring the Central Committee of the Union of Communist Youth organized a symposium in Piatra Neamt on subjects of the scientific materialist education of youth. It permitted a useful exchange of experience and ideas and we expect that it will not remain a single initiative. With this prospect, what proposals and suggestions could you make, ones which could be retained for a future symposium of this kind?

[Answer] Undoubtedly, the symposium organized in Piatra Neamt was particularly useful and instructive. But I must say that many of us still operate with abstract, vague concepts, even with confusion which, of course, considerably reduces the productivity of our activity, despite the good intentions. I think, then, that it is necessary to provide well-based instructing of the aktiv in this area, presenting both the methods and techniques of investigation and discussing the conclusions of

the investigations made and discussing the practical solutions resulting from them and also making a broad and competent report on the position of religion in the modern world, the sectarian phenomenon, the causes and substrata, leaving once and for all the didacticist and schematic method which some materials of this so-called scientific-atheist education have. It is not merely a formulation of politeness but I want to say that the journalistic initiative of SCINTEIA TINERET-ULUI in devoting a special page to this very important area in the educational work is a useful tool for orienting the youth and I want to hope that it will appear more regularly and aided more by us, by the cadres in the area of political-ideological work and by the Union of Communist Youth organs and organizations.

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INDULGENT PARENTS OF PARASITES REPRIMANDED

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Jul 81 pp 1,2

[Article by Dionisie Sincan and Gheorghe Cirstea]

[Text] There still are people who do not work and, yet, they still have bread on their table. How could this paradox be accomplished in a society like ours, where the principle of "no work without bread and no bread without work" is a basic law? Who are these people who are a burden to their parents, their spouses, our burden the burden of everyone, those who with an effort of blamable imagination shirk from the highest purpose for man: honest work for the use of everyone and the entire community? When, where and how are these human eclipses produced,what are the factors of this evil abandon, at what point in the lives of these individuals--in the family or in society--is the educational break produced, forcing public opinion to firmly ask application of the laws in order to reestablish the necessary balance?

We are starting a new series of social investigations, proceeding from these questions, convinced that you, our readers, will participate with us in establishing exact answers.

The most painful tears are the ones which do not appear in the eyes. The most disturbing tears are the ones which do not run down your face, but the ones which drop--like drops of molten lead--within your soul, not even allowing a cry of atrocious pain to come out. I guessed there were such tears in Elena Rosioru's soul, listening to her talk about her son, Nicolae Rosioru, now 30 years old but for her, still a child.

"He was our sun," the woman says abruptly."One of our purposes in the world. We wanted to make a man of him. He always had our example, the example of his parents and we always helped him. And yet, he does not want to work."

"Even as an adult?"

"Even. I don't know what happened."

Affection. A psychological phenomenon of delicate complexity, concentrating noble feelings of love, attachment, special warmth, selflessness up to sacrifice. When they concern relations between parents and children, they bring up many feelings hard to describe, but identified, however, as the pillar of resistance of the family structure.

"Affection is kindness first of all," says Comrade Lt Col Gheorghe Scarlat, a man who knows Nicolae Rosioru well. "But kindness is demonstrated in a million ways. I am strict with my children but my strictness originates in affection. They feel the affection under the cloak of severity which, actually, is my responsibility as a parent. They warm to my affection and recognize in it the responsibility which I bear for everything they do and have to do. Affection does not blind me but it makes me clearer in evaluating their qualities and helps me not to overestimate them. They are "daddy's children," but they must be prepared to enter into society on their own feet."

"Do you give them everything they want?"

"I give them everything they need, not more, which is rational--to give a child so that he understands that what he getsis the product of work and does not come from unlimited wealth. So he understands that his work, both at home and at school, is a necessity, a natural tradition of man, the oxygen of his existence as a distinct personality. Probably the importance of this was not explained on time to Rosioru and others. They could not be told later, like I told my son when he was thinking about a profession for which I well knew that he did not have the necessary qualities: "Gheorghita, from now on the plant will raise you! And if qualities appear which you imagine, then the plant will send you to utilize them!"

"He never lacked anything," Elena Rosioru confessed. "He got everything he wanted."

It is astonishing how this argument is reapeated like a moral relief in all the cases of human failures, some dramatic. And you ask yourself: why should you give him everything all at once, without making him understand gradually that each thing given, each wish fulfilled means first work, striving responsibility? Giving him everything hinders him from penetrating with understanding the basic purposes of man--work, responsibility. That is, precisely those values which will help him become a whole man and use all of society.

The hidden cracks in such an education were sharply broadened in Nicolae Rosioru's case by the vicious gang he entered even in the 10th grade. He did not get enough money from home. As he confesses, "I wanted more and fast and I told myself that by giving up school and becoming a lathe operator I would get this money, like my free-time friends had , who were handy with the cards." Soon he gave up his trade, too, because the money obtained through work was measured according to his wisdom and striving. So, he breaks this balance--a law of honest life--entering a shady area bringing on the psychology of a parasite, the one to whom work seems to be a thankless job, while an easy life , won through lack of honesty, is the only goal. The hidden cracks in the faulty education thus become completely visible. There still is an anemic justification from the parents who see their hopes dashed: "I don't know when I lost him!" And again you ask yourself: Is there truly one distinct moment when you lose your child, when he gets away from parental control without being noticed or does the moral break begin its evil process together with unmeasured affection, where the dose of indulgence has lost its necessary balance?

"N.B. is 13," Lt Maj Stefan Florian of the Service for Criminal Investigation in the Pitesti Municipal Militia tells us. "His father is an engineer. And he has 'everything he wants'. And, yet, this child committed 30 infractions. The parents are desperate. And we are sad. 'We lost him,' they say, 'and he got in with a bad gang .' It's too bad because N.B.'s intelligence deserved to be guided in another direction. He is called 'golden hands' in the crime circles. What an irony! With

real affection, full of balance, N.B. could have given another meaning to the expression 'golden hands.'"

What a brutal deviation from an honorable life of work, where each child, each young person should embark with all responsibility, of course not lacking all the joys of childhood and youth but increasing their thrill of beauty with the proper dose of responsibility for their own future! This child is an extreme case at such an early age but, at the same time, he is an example of what can happen at the end of a slower evolution--not less poisonous--of being spoiled, as things stand with Rosioru, a man who has reached 30, a failure, fleeing work, going the expedient way, feeling the lower depths of life, crime. Or the case of other "old children," protected by their parents precisely from the joy of the well-done job, the one done by their hands and minds. "I worked hard so he could live better!" The sorrowful argument, heard a thousand times, a false path in life taken by some parents, at the end of which they embrace disillusionment and desperation. Sooner or later, as happened with Nicolae Rosioru's parents. "I'm sorry and I'm ashamed,"he confesses and, for a moment, you think of a happy awakening to reality. "You see," he continues thoughtfully, "I cannot work too hard." "You have a qualification, you are a lathe operator." "I was. But I have hepatitis. At one time I had hepatitis," he corrects himself. "Maybe it was a light case."

He was offered more than 12 jobs! What else can we say?

At the beginning of our investigation, we mentioned the changes in mistakenly understood affection and its consequences, damaging for all of us in the end. Due to this affection deviated from its natural meaning, its complex meaning, for years on end children are kept like in a greenhouse, having reached adulthood and still preparing for their college entrance exams. "Daddy's boy, mommy's girl." They are offered everything--a home, free board, with an increase in food and money for the necessary relaxation after"hard work," which never is produced in a positive way. But they keep on in this situation, with a sturbbornness worthy of a better cause and all kinds of "bad lucks" are manufactured, actually covering the origin producing failures, weak people, without will, people failing, people in blamable acts, when the parents' material source dries up or is exceeded by "the needs" of the children. And then those painful tears appear, those pathetic questions: "How could this happen to him (or her) when he had everything?" Precisely for that reason! Because he had and has everything without understanding that the values he is consuming must be rebought with the noble effort of work and responsibility. Protecting the child or young person from these efforts, we weaken his power of resistance to life, we ourselves are cutting off his rise toward the achievement we desire, toward the completion of their personalities and we are creating for all of society an evil against which it must mobilize its energies. An evil which is hard to fix, which is hard to heal. "Daddy's boy, mommy's girl" are the undeserved and unexpected "gifts" thrown on the back of our society, where the principle of "no work without bread and no bread without work" is law. And the law must have its say firmly so that our life of honest work, free and creative, can keep its harmony and beauty undefiled.

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BRIEFS

OLD RITE VICAR-BISHOP--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that archdeacon Luchian Samoila is recognized in the position of vicar-bishop of the Old Rite Christian Bishopric, a post to which he was elected by the Grand Synod of the Old Rite Christian Church of the Socialist Republic of Romania on 23 June 1981. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romania Part I No 53, 25 Jul 81 p 2]

CONSUL GENERAL APPOINTMENTS--The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that Comrade Ioan Bochis is appointed consul general of the General Consulate of the Socialist Republic of Romania in Debrecen, in the Hungarian People's Republic; Comrade Carol Cozma is released from his position as consul general in Bratislava in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and Comarde Ioan Murg is appointed consul general in Bratislava; Comrade Ion Dobricean is released from his position as consul general in Alexandria, in the Arab Republic of Egypt, and Comrade Ion Edu is appointed consul general in Alexandria, in the Arab Republic of Egypt. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 56, 28 Jul 81 p 3]

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CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS DISCUSSED IN WESTERN PRESS

Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 10 Aug 81 p 3

[Report by Christine von Kohl: "What Clerics Are Not Allowed To Sing--Yugoslavia's Unequal Church Policy"]

[Text] Belgrade--The profound unrest which has been noticeable below the surface of domestic political developments in Yugoslavia for some time has become particularly apparent in the relationship between state and church. Previously--that is, while Tito was alive--it was possible to observe an effort being made, by and large, to maintain a certain balance among the big religious communities. If, for example, the position of the Croatian Church was strengthened, or that of Islam--perhaps out of Yugoslav foreign political considerations--this also had a more or less automatic favorable effect on the other religious communities. Now this balancing system does not seem to be functioning any more.

In Croatia the party has been conducting a veritable campaign against the Catholic Church this year. The now no longer surprising verbal attacks by leading Croatian party officials have been complemented in the past few weeks by the sentencing--though only to fines--of three clerics. One of them is the editor-in-chief of the Zagreb weekly GLAS KONCILA.

They were indicted because, according to the court, the "socialist and national feelings of Zagreb citizens who were not believers had been offended" by the wording of church posters and brochures promoting the "250th pilgrimage of the City of Zagreb to Marija Bestrica." Since, according to the court, "Zagreb today is no longer the Zagreb of 250 years ago," the sentence--mentioned above--should have been amended accordingly. The court points out further that those responsible for the wording "are highly educated adult and intelligent persons who ought to know what they are doing and need not follow any kind of directives."

This was an indirect reply to a letter--which was not answered officially--by Zagreb Archbishop Franje Kuharic to the court. In it the prelate had stated that the wording which had been made the subject of prosecution had originated with him personally and that he was therefore responsible for it. He was not, however, aware of thus having violated any law.

If observers had been pretty much at a loss as to why this whole campaign was unleashed despite the fact--or because?--state-church relations in Croatia had

already reached a fairly relaxed stage, an indirect answer was supplied recently by as high a party official as Milutin Baltic. He stated publicly that the Catholic Church in Croatia should not think it could follow the example of the Polish church and make itself the spokesman or representative of the Croatian people, for whereas the Polish church together with the people had fought the common enemy in World War II, the church of Croatia had fought on the side of the enemy.

In other words, the Croatian party is reacting in its own way to the internal developments in Poland, which represent an important disquieting experience for every ruling communist party.

At the same time in Serbia just about the opposite kind of state-church relationship is developing--without a "polish" component but in the wake of the events in Kosovo, the autonomous province with an Albanian majority which forms part of the Serbian Republic.

The Orthodox Church in Serbia is leading a fairly retrograde, rather passive existence. Sometimes fairly frequently and sometimes more rarely, it is accused of advocating or supporting nationalist Serbian positions and maintaining contact with anticommunist emigre circles. The church and the regime know that the Serbs cling to their church for traditional patriotic reasons rather than out of actual religious conviction, and this very fact is the reason for the new situation in which the church finds itself in light of the tensions that have arisen in Kosov between Serbs and Albanians.

For every Serb, Kosovo, the seat of the patriarch at the height of the Serbian Kingdom, represents the source of Serbian consciousness. The fact that today more and more Albanians and fewer and fewer Serbs live there and that Albanians are allowed to "rule" there is almost intolerably painful to such Serbs—presumably the great majority of them. When a few days after the first demonstration a part of the old patriarchate in Pec was destroyed by fire in mid-March, it was a very dangerous moment. Eyewitnesses were sure that it was arson, intended as an anti-Serbian demonstration. Without being able to remove the existing suspicion of sabotage, an official committee after weeks of investigations cited a short circuit as the possible cause of the fire.

The church took a similarly equivocal stand in the matter. Church and political offices thus demonstrated their desire not to lend additional fuel on the Serbian side to anti-Albanian feelings. A visit by the patriarch in Pec to the site of the disaster received the attention of the mass media.

The most dramatic development, however, was Patriarch German being received by Prime Minister Veselin Djuranovic in Belgrade a few weeks ago. On that occasion the Orthodox ecclesiastical journal PRAVOSLAVIJA published a detailed list of the subjects discussed under the headline "The Church Is Concerned About the Safety of Its Faithful and Priests in Kosovo." The fact that the meeting was even covered in a brief television reportage was something of a sensation.

In addition to topical problems such as the migration of Orthodox priests and nuns from restive Kosovo and social questions affecting priests and seminary graduates,

the patriarch brought up the case of the two young clerics who had been given steep prison sentences in Bosnia a few weeks earlier. Their crime was to have sung so-called nationalist Serbian songs on the occasion of a family celebration. The sentence had caused great indignation in Serbian circles.

The meeting between prime minister and patriarch shows that at present--one may say, understandably--Serbian circles are also exercising great influence in the offices of federal authorities. The differences in the treatment now being accorded officially to the churches in Croatia and Serbia also show, however, that at present the centrifugal forces in Yugoslavia have become considerably stronger than they were a year ago. It remains to be seen whether this, over the longer term, means a step forward toward Yugoslav togetherness or a step backward.

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